

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
FOR
THE YEAR 1910-1911

VOLUME IV

EDITED BY
BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH
SUPERINTENDENT OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA



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THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

EDITOR'S PREFACE

This volume of the *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association* covers the transactions of the Association from the close of the third annual meeting in 1910 to the close of the fourth annual meeting in 1911. During this period two meetings of the Association were held — one at Indianapolis, Indiana, on December 27, 1910, and the other at Chicago and Evanston, Illinois, on May 18, 19, and 20, 1911. The regular mid-year meeting was held at Indianapolis, Indiana, in connection with the regular annual meetings of the American Historical Association and the Ohio Valley Historical Association. The Chicago-Evanston meeting was the fourth annual meeting of the Association. Papers and addresses delivered at these two meetings are included in this volume. There was also held in connection with the Chicago-Evanston meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association a session of the North Central History Teachers Association. The papers read at this session of the North Central History Teachers Association are accordingly included in this volume.

For assistance in preparing the copy for the printers, in reading the proofs, and in compiling the index the editor is indebted to Miss Ethyl E. Martin, Clerk to the Superintendent of The State Historical Society of Iowa.

BENJ. F. SHAMBAUGH

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY, IOWA

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CONSTITUTION OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

I — NAME

The name of this organization shall be the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

II — OBJECT

The object of the Association shall be to promote historical study and research and to secure coöperation between the historical societies and the departments of history of the Mississippi Valley.

III — MEMBERSHIP

Membership in this Association shall be divided into three classes, namely: active, sustaining, and life members. Any one interested in the study of Mississippi Valley history may become a member in any of these classes upon payment of the dues hereinafter provided.

IV — OFFICERS

The officers of the Association shall be a President, two Vice Presidents, and a Secretary-Treasurer, who with six other active members, and such ex-Presidents of the Association as retain their membership therein, shall constitute the Executive Committee.

All officers shall be elected at the annual meeting and shall hold office for one year or until their successors are elected and have qualified, providing, however, that at the first election held hereunder two members of the Executive Committee shall be elected for one year, two for two years, and two for three years, and that hereafter

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two members of the Executive Committee shall be elected annually to hold office for three years.

The Executive Committee shall have general charge of the affairs of the Association including the calling of meetings and selection of papers to be read. Five members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

V — MEETINGS

A regular annual meeting and a mid-year meeting of the Association shall be held on such dates and at such places as the Executive Committee may determine.

VI — DUES

The annual dues for individual active members shall be one dollar. The annual dues for library members shall be two dollars. Sustaining members — either individuals or institutions — shall pay five dollars annually. Any individual may become a life member upon the payment of fifty dollars.

VII — AMENDMENTS

This Constitution may be amended at any regular meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at a previous meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the Executive Committee.

OFFICERS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION FOR
THE YEAR 1910-1911

PRESIDENT

BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH, A. M., PH. D.
Superintendent of The State Historical Society of Iowa

VICE PRESIDENT

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, LL. B.
Professor of History, University of Chicago

SECRETARY-TREASURER

CLARENCE S. PAINE
Secretary of the Nebraska State Historical Society

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

In addition to above named officers

(EX-PRESIDENTS)

FRANCIS A. SAMPSON, LL. B.
Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri

THOMAS M. OWEN, A. M., LL. D.
*Director of the Department of Archives and History of the State
of Alabama*

CLARENCE W. ALVORD, PH. D.
Associate Professor, University of Illinois

ORIN G. LIBBY, PH. D.
Secretary of the State Historical Society of North Dakota

(ELECTED)

JAMES A. JAMES, PH. D.
Professor of History, Northwestern University

ISAAC J. COX, PH. D.
Professor of History, University of Cincinnati

THE MEETINGS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
1910-1911

THE MEETINGS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
1910-1911

DECEMBER MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION
(Indianapolis, Indiana, December 27, 1910)

REGULAR SESSION

The regular mid-year meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at Indianapolis, Indiana, on December 27, 1910, in connection with the annual meetings of the American Historical Association and the Ohio Valley Historical Association. The joint session of the three organizations, which was held in the Palm Room of the Claypool Hotel, was presided over by Mr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, President of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

For convenience the order of the published program was changed and the first paper presented was on *The American Intervention in West Florida* by Mr. Isaac J. Cox. It was discussed by Mr. Frederic A. Ogg of Simmons College, Boston, and Mr. Dunbar Rowland of the Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi. Mr. Archer B. Hulbert of Marietta, Ohio, followed with a paper on *A Century of Steamboat Navigation on the Ohio*, which was discussed by Mr. Royal B. Way of Bloomington, Indiana, and Mr. John Wilson Townsend of Lexington, Kentucky. Mr. Orin G. Libby of the University of North Dakota presented a paper entitled *New Light on the Explorations of the Verendrye*, which in the absence of Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee was informally dis-

cussed by Mr. Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Illinois. Mr. H. G. Gunn of Winnipeg, Canada, was not present and his paper on *The Fight for Free Trade in Rupert's Land* was read by title. Mr. Dan E. Clark of the State Historical Society of Iowa was introduced, but owing to the lateness of the hour he elected to read by title his paper on *Early Forts on the Upper Mississippi*.

A short intermission followed the regular program, after which President Shambaugh called the meeting to order for a brief business session. Mr. Jacob P. Dunn of Indianapolis, Indiana, then presented the following resolution:

Whereas, Historical interest is being drawn at this period to the Indian tribes of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, and the dealings of the nation with them, and

Whereas, The languages of these tribes are not recorded, and there is danger that they will be lost on account of the death of the older Indians and the adoption of the English language by the younger ones,

Resolved, That the Mississippi Valley Historical Association request Congress, and that its members use their influence with their representatives to secure the same, for an appropriation of \$5,000 a year for the next two years to be expended by the Bureau of Ethnology in special work for the preservation of these languages.

Mr. Orin G. Libby moved the adoption of the resolution, which motion was seconded by Mr. Virgil A. Lewis, who spoke briefly urging its passage. The motion for adoption was carried.

President Shambaugh reviewed briefly the work of the Association and suggested a resolution of thanks to the Secretary; whereupon Mr. James A. James of Northwestern University moved the adoption of the following resolutions, drafted by President Shambaugh:

Whereas, The Mississippi Valley Historical Association has this day closed a most successful joint session with the Amer-

ican Historical Association and the Ohio Valley Historical Association; and

Whereas, The Mississippi Valley Association now has a membership of nearly six hundred and is recognized as the most important historical agency in the Mississippi Valley,

Be it Resolved, That we express our grateful appreciation of the successful efforts of our Secretary, Mr. Clarence S. Paine, of the Nebraska State Historical Society, in the upbuilding of the Association. From the inception of the Association at Lincoln, Nebraska, in October, 1907, Mr. Paine has been untiring in his generous and unselfish devotion to all of its interests. To him, more than to any other member or officer, is due the credit for the remarkable success which has come to this Association.

Furthermore, We recognize and appreciate the fact that through the upbuilding of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association Mr. Paine has rendered an invaluable service, not alone to the Nebraska State Historical Society, but to all of the historical societies, State and local, in the Mississippi Valley.

Be it Further Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the Association.

A motion to adopt the foregoing resolutions, having been seconded by Mr. Orin G. Libby, was carried unanimously. Thereupon the meeting adjourned.

SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(President's Office, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, October 22, 1910)

At this session of the Executive Committee, which was called to order at 10:00 o'clock, A. M., by the President, the following persons were present: Mr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, Mr. Andrew C. McLaughlin, Mr. James A. James, Mr. Isaac J. Cox, and the Secretary.

Mr. L. A. Brewer of The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, was present by invitation for the purpose of stating to the Committee the proposition which had been made by The Torch Press for publishing a series of collections or reprints, or both, for the Association. After some in-

formal discussion of the proposition, Mr. Brewer withdrew.

The Secretary reported that he had entered into a tentative arrangement with The Torch Press Company as directed by the Association at the Iowa City meeting. According to the agreement it was provided:

First. The Association should through its authorized officers or committees (1) plan volumes in the proposed series, (2) submit contents of such volumes to the publisher for approval, (3) furnish copy for each volume including the necessary title pages, prefaces, introduction, notes, references and indices, all carefully edited, (4) furnish competent editorial supervision; and (5) read galley proof and final page proof.

Second. The Torch Press Company should publish such material as may be approved by the Association, the Executive Committee, or the Board of Publication, and in so doing should (1) furnish stock, (2) do type-setting, (3) do press work, (4) do the folding and binding, (5) do all advertising and take charge of sales, and (6) furnish the necessary materials for wrapping, mailing, etc.

Third. The Association, through its officers, should promote the sale of such publications in every proper way.

Fourth. The Association should receive twenty-five per cent of the net profits arising from such publication.

Fifth. The division of profits should be subject to readjustment at any time after the publication of the first volume.

It was moved by Mr. McLaughlin and seconded by Mr. James that the Secretary be instructed not to proceed further with arrangements for publishing a series of reprints until the Publication Committee had first canvassed the situation as to available materials for the proposed series; that the Publication Committee be requested to confer with other associations and societies as to their plans of publication; and that the Publication Committee outline a general scheme to be presented to the Executive Committee for approval. The motion carried.

It was moved by Mr. James that Mr. Shambaugh be

invited to continue his editorial supervision of the *Proceedings* and to prepare copy for Volume III as soon as practicable. The motion was seconded by Mr. McLaughlin and, being put by the Secretary, was carried.

On motion of Mr. James, seconded by Mr. McLaughlin, the matter of binding the published *Proceedings* was left to the President and Secretary with power.

On motion the President, Mr. Cox, and the Secretary were named as a committee to consider some plan for consolidating the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the Ohio Valley Historical Association, with instructions to report to a special meeting of the Association to be called at Indianapolis, on December 27-30, 1910.

On motion the President was directed to invite the Illinois State Historical Society to hold its annual meeting for 1911 at Evanston, Illinois, in connection with the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association; and he was directed to extend the same invitation to the North Central History Teachers Association.

The session was concluded with an informal discussion of the plans for a joint session with the Ohio Valley Historical Association and the American Historical Association at Indianapolis in December.

SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(Claypool Hotel, Indianapolis, Indiana, December 27, 1910)

At this session of the Executive Committee, which was held at three o'clock, P. M., there were present the following: Mr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, Mr. Orin G. Libby, Mr. Clarence W. Alvord, Mr. Francis A. Sampson, and the Secretary. After an informal discussion of plans for the fourth annual meeting to be held at Evanston, Illinois, the Committee adjourned to meet at the call of the President at the close of the evening session.

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SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(Claypool Hotel, Indianapolis, Indiana, December 27, 1910)

At the close of the regular session on Tuesday evening, December 27, a meeting of the Executive Committee was held at which there were present the following: Mr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, Mr. Isaac J. Cox, Mr. Francis A. Sampson, Mr. Orin G. Libby, Mr. James A. James, Mr. Clarence W. Alvord, and the Secretary. Several questions affecting the policy of the Association were informally discussed.

It was declared to be the sense of the Committee that a history teachers section be made a permanent feature of the annual meetings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and that the North Central History Teachers Association should be invited to form such section.

Mr. Archer B. Hulbert, Mr. Charles T. Greve, and Mr. Woodford W. Longmoor, representing the Ohio Valley Historical Association, were then introduced and a general discussion followed on the question of the consolidation of the Ohio Valley Historical Association with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Various phases of the problem were considered, but no formal action was taken.

FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION

(Evanston and Chicago, Illinois, May 18, 19, and 20, 1911)

The fourth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held on May 18, 19, and 20, 1911, at Evanston and Chicago, Illinois. The local arrangements for the meeting were in charge of Mr. James A. James, a member of the Executive Committee of the Association.

Preliminary to the sessions of the Association, a program was presented under the auspices of the Illinois State Historical Society. The chief features of this pro-

gram were: (1) an address of welcome by Mr. Joseph E. Paden, Mayor of Evanston; (2) a paper on *The Fordhams and La Serres of the English Settlement in Edward County, Illinois*, by Mr. Walter Colyer of Albion, Illinois; (3) a paper on *The Development of the Illinois State Constitutions* by Mr. Christopher B. Coleman of Indianapolis, Indiana; (4) a paper on *Massachusetts, the Germans, and the Chicago Convention of 1860* by Mr. Frank I. Herriott of Des Moines, Iowa; (5) an address by Colonel Clark E. Carr, President of the Illinois State Historical Society; (6) a paper by Mr. I. P. Wharton of Los Angeles, California, on *Abraham Lincoln's Early Connection with the Republican Party* read by Mr. J. B. Oakleaf of Moline, Illinois; (7) a paper on *The Life and Labors of William H. Collins, One of the Founders of the Illinois Historical Society* by Mr. James Robert Smith of Quincy, Illinois; and (8) a paper on *Thomas Sloo, Jr., A Typical Politician of Early Illinois* by Mr. Isaac J. Cox of Cincinnati, Ohio. The sessions of the Illinois Historical Society were concluded with an annual business meeting. The papers read at the meeting will be published in the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*.

FIRST SESSION

The first session of the fourth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held in the Chicago Historical Society Building on Thursday, May 18th, at 2:30 o'clock, P. M. The meeting was called to order by Colonel Clark E. Carr, who introduced Mr. Thomas Dent, President of the Chicago Historical Society. Mr. Dent, after a few words of welcome, presented Mr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, President of the Association.

The first paper of the session was by Mr. Orin G. Libby of the State Historical Society of North Dakota on the subject of *Myths of the American Indians as Material for Supplementary Reading in our Secondary*

Schools, which, in the absence of Mr. Libby was read by Mr. Herbert C. Fish, Curator of the Historical Society of North Dakota. This was followed by *Some Notes on the Fort Dearborn Massacre* by Mr. Milo M. Quaife of Lewis Institute, Chicago, Illinois. Mr. Quaife was followed by Mr. Solon J. Buck of Urbana, Illinois, who read a paper on *Some Materials for the Social History of the Mississippi Valley During the Nineteenth Century*.

At the close of this session President Shambaugh appointed the following committees: Committee on Resolutions, Mr. Isaac J. Cox, Mr. J. Seymour Currey, Mr. Clarence E. Carter; Committee on Nominations, Mr. James A. James, Mr. Francis A. Sampson, Mr. Herbert C. Fish; Auditing Committee, Mr. William E. Dodd, Mr. Edward C. Page, Mr. Milo M. Quaife.

On motion of the Secretary a Committee on Ways and Means with the President as Chairman was appointed as follows: Mr. Andrew C. McLaughlin, Mr. Reuben G. Thwaites, Mr. James A. James, and Mr. Clarence S. Paine.

SECOND SESSION

The second session was held at the Chicago Historical Society Building on Thursday, May 18th, at 8:00 o'clock, P. M., with Mr. Benj. F. Shambaugh presiding. Owing to the absence of Mr. George B. Merrick, his address on *Old Steamboat Days on the Mississippi River* was omitted. President Shambaugh then gave a brief address on *The Iowa School of Research Historians*. This was followed by a paper by Mr. William E. Dodd of the University of Chicago on *Robert J. Walker, Imperialist*.

At the close of this session an informal reception was given by the Chicago Historical Society to the members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the members of the Illinois State Historical Society.

THIRD SESSION

The third session was held on Friday, May 19th, at 10:00 o'clock at the rooms of the Evanston Historical Society. The session opened with a paper by Mr. Royal B. Way of Bloomington, Indiana, on *The Mississippi Valley and Internal Improvements, 1825-1840*. The next number on the program was a paper by Mr. Newton H. Winchell of St. Paul, Minnesota, on the subject *Were the Outagami of Iroquois Stock?*, which was read by his daughter, Mrs. U. S. Grant of Evanston, Illinois. Owing to the absence of Mr. A. G. Plumb, of Manitowoc, Wisconsin, his paper on *The Early Harbor History of Wisconsin* was read by title. In conclusion of the program of this session Mr. Archer B. Hulbert of Marietta, Ohio, read a paper on *The Washington We Forget* in lieu of the paper announced, namely, *A Comparison of Some of the Source Material on Braddock's Campaign*.

Following the reading of Mr. Hulbert's paper, President Shambaugh called the business meeting to order. The report of the Secretary-Treasurer was presented, together with the following resolutions recommended by the Executive Committee in amendment of the Constitution:

Be it Resolved by the Mississippi Valley Historical Association: That section three (III) of the Constitution be amended to read as follows:

"Membership in this Association shall be divided into three classes, namely: active, sustaining, and life members. Any one interested in the study of Mississippi Valley history may become a member in any of these classes upon payment of the dues hereinafter provided."

That section three (III) of the Constitution as it now stands be and the same is hereby repealed.

That section four (IV) of the Constitution be amended to read as follows:

"The officers of the Association shall be a President, two

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Vice Presidents, and a Secretary-Treasurer, who with six other active members, and such ex-Presidents of the Association as retain their membership therein, shall constitute the Executive Committee.

"All officers shall be elected at the annual meeting and shall hold office for one year or until their successors are elected and have qualified, providing, however, that at the first election held hereunder two members of the Executive Committee shall be elected for one year, two for two years, and two for three years, and that thereafter two members of the Executive Committee shall be elected annually to hold office for three years.

"The Executive Committee shall have general charge of the affairs of the Association including the calling of meetings and selection of papers to be read. Five members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business."

That section four (IV) of the Constitution as it now stands be and the same is hereby repealed.

That section six (VI) of the Constitution be amended to read as follows:

"The annual dues for active members shall be two dollars. Sustaining members shall pay five dollars annually. Any individual may become a life member upon the payment of fifty dollars.

That section six (VI) of the Constitution as it now stands be and the same is hereby repealed.

After some informal discussion, participated in by Mr. Francis A. Sampson, Mr. Reuben G. Thwaites, Mr. Clarence W. Alvord, Mr. William A. Meese, and the Secretary, the recommendation of the Executive Committee was concurred in, the resolutions as read were adopted, and the Constitution was amended in accordance therewith.

At 12:30 o'clock, P. M., a luncheon was tendered to the members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the members of the Illinois State Historical Society by Mr. and Mrs. Joseph E. Paden at the Evans-ton Club on Grove Street and Chicago Avenue.

FOURTH SESSION

The fourth session was held on Friday afternoon at 3:00 o'clock, and was called to order by President Shambaugh. The session was opened with a business meeting. The report of the Auditing Committee was submitted as follows:

We have examined the accounts and vouchers of the Secretary-Treasurer and find the same correct to May 20, 1911, showing a cash balance of \$97.57.

William E. Dodd

Edward C. Page

Mr. F. A. Sampson then submitted the report of the Committee on Nominations. The Committee recommended the election of the following officers for the ensuing year: For President, Mr. Andrew C. McLaughlin; for First Vice President, Mr. Reuben G. Thwaites; for Second Vice President, Mr. James A. James; for Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. Clarence S. Paine; for members of the Executive Committee for a term of one year, Mr. Isaac J. Cox and Mr. George W. Martin; for a term of two years, Mr. St. George L. Sioussat and Mr. Clarence M. Burton; for a term of three years, Mr. George E. Vincent, and Mr. James A. Woodburn. The report was adopted, the rules were suspended, and the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the members present for the election of the officers named. The ballot being cast, the President declared the foregoing officers and members of the Executive Committee elected for the terms mentioned.

Mr. Isaac J. Cox submitted the following report for the Committee on Resolutions:

Your Committee on Resolutions beg leave to submit the following as an expression of the sentiments of the members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in the fourth annual meeting:

First. We appreciate the sentiment for unity in historical

work which is exhibited by the joint meeting of the Illinois Historical Society and the North Central History Teachers Association with our organization, and by the combination of the Chicago Historical Society and the Evanston Historical Society with the Northwestern University and the people of Evanston in entertaining us and making our sessions pleasant and profitable.

Second. We desire to express in particular our appreciation of the labor of Mr. James A. James and the Committee on Arrangements, and our gratitude to Mayor and Mrs. Joseph E. Paden, Mr. and Mrs. Charles G. Dawes, and Mr. Henry J. Patten for the entertainments that reveal the hospitality of the community and their interest in our work.

Third. We recommend that during the next year the officers especially consider the question of more complete coöperation between the local historical societies and our organization in order to make it a real clearing house for local historical work throughout the Mississippi Valley.

Fourth. We recommend the extension of the idea of affiliation or consolidation among the more general organizations until they become really unified in purpose and effort.

Fifth. We appreciate the work of the Evanston and Chicago papers in giving to our meetings the publicity which contributes to extend the scope and influence of our work.

Respectfully submitted,

I. J. Cox
C. E. Carter
J. S. Currey

President Shambaugh reported briefly on the work of the Executive Committee for the year.

For the Publication Committee, Mr. Clarence W. Alvord reported that two volumes of reprints would be ready to place in the hands of the publishers in a few months.

Mr. Frederic L. Paxson, on behalf of the Committee on The Relation of State Historical Societies and Departments of History, reported progress.

Mr. Claude H. Van Tyne reported informally for

the Committee on the Establishment of Departments of State History in State Universities.

In the absence of Mr. Frank P. Goodwin, Mr. Edward C. Page reported for the Committee on State History as a Part of the High School Curriculum. The Committee reported progress and asked leave to continue its investigations.

Mr. Reuben G. Thwaites reported for the Committee on Administration of Historical Societies that he had conferred with individual members of the Committee and that the feeling seemed to prevail that the report made on a similar subject to the American Historical Association in 1905, and published in the annual report of the Association for that year, covered fully all that was to be said on the subject. In reply it was pointed out that the report referred to attempted to cover the entire field of American historical societies, instead of being limited to the Mississippi Valley as was now contemplated, and that excellent as was the report it was by no means complete even at the time. The Committee was continued.

Mr. Charles E. Brown reported for the Committee on State Historical Museums.

Mr. William A. Meese, who was to report for the Committee on Historic Sites in the absence of the chairman, Mr. Orin G. Libby, was called away from the meeting and no report was presented.

The Secretary moved that the committee reports presented be accepted, that the committees be continued and directed to pursue their investigations and report at the next annual meeting.

Mr. Frederic L. Paxson moved that the President appoint a Committee on the Certification of High School Teachers of History to coöperate with a similar committee from the American Historical Association. The motion was seconded by Mr. James and carried.

A motion by Mr. James A. Woodburn to the effect

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that the Association invite the North Central History Teachers Association to become the teachers section of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was seconded and carried.

It was moved by Mr. Archer B. Hulbert that the action of the Association in adopting the resolution amending Article VI of the Constitution, or that portion of it fixing the annual dues of individuals at two dollars, be reconsidered. This motion was seconded by Mr. Paxson. The motion to reconsider was debated by Mr. Frederic A. Paxson, Mr. Clarence W. Alvord, Mr. Isaac J. Cox, Mr. Solon J. Buck, Mr. Royal B. Way, and Mr. Francis A. Sampson. When put to a vote the result was 13 ayes and 8 nays.

It was then moved by Mr. Paxson that the resolution amending Article VI of the Constitution be so amended as to fix the following schedule of dues: individual active members, one dollar annually; library members, two dollars annually; sustaining members (either individuals or institutions), five dollars annually; life members, fifty dollars. This motion was seconded and carried.

This concluded the business session, and the President introduced Mrs. R. A. Stewart of Evanston, Illinois, who read a paper on *Personal Recollections of the Civil War*. Owing to the lateness of the hour and the absence of Mr. Edgar R. Harlan, the Conference of Mississippi Valley Historical Societies was omitted.

At 5:00 o'clock, P. M., a reception was tendered to the members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the members of the Illinois State Historical Society by Mr. and Mrs. Charles G. Dawes at their home on Greenwood Boulevard and Sheridan Road.

FIFTH SESSION

The fifth session was held at 8:15 o'clock on Friday

evening in Lunt Library, Northwestern University, with Mr. J. Seymour Currey, President of the Evanston Historical Society, presiding.

Mr. Currey introduced Judge Orrin N. Carter of Evanston, Illinois, who read a paper on *Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas as Lawyers*.

SIXTH SESSION

The fourth annual meeting of the Association was concluded on Saturday, May 20th, with a session of the North Central History Teachers Association held in Swift Hall of Engineering, Northwestern University, with Mr. James A. Woodburn, President of the North Central History Teachers Association, presiding. The chief features of the program were: (1) a paper by Mr. L. A. Fulwider of Freeport, Illinois, on *High School Texts and Equipment in History*; (2) a discussion of Mr. Fulwider's paper by Miss Josephine M. Cox of Indianapolis, Indiana; (3) a paper by Mr. William O. Lynch of Terre Haute, Indiana, on *What Should a High School Course in Civil Government Comprise?*; (4) a paper by Mr. Norman M. Trenholme of Columbia, Missouri, on *Preparation for the High School Teacher of History*; and (5) a *Report on the Practical Working of the Recommendations of the Committee of Eight* by Mr. James A. James of Evanston, Illinois.

At this meeting it was voted by the members of the North Central History Teachers Association to disband their organization and become a section of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(Chicago Historical Society Building, Chicago, Illinois, May 18, 1911)

At this session of the Executive Committee, which was called to order at 4:30 o'clock, P. M., by the President, there were present the following: Mr. Benj. F.

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Shambaugh, Mr. Andrew C. McLaughlin, Mr. Francis A. Sampson, Mr. James A. James, Mr. Clarence W. Alvord, Mr. Isaac J. Cox, and the Secretary.

The Secretary was directed to present to the Association an amendment to the Constitution providing for a life membership with a fee of fifty dollars. It was further agreed that the Committee should recommend to the Association an amendment to the Constitution providing for a sustaining membership — including libraries, institutions, and individuals — with a fee of five dollars per year. It was also decided to recommend an amendment to the Constitution so as to increase the annual dues of individuals from one dollar to two dollars.

On motion the price of Volume III of the *Proceedings* was fixed at \$2.50 to non-members of the Association.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER
(May, 1911)

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The meeting at Iowa City last year was followed by a period of unusual activity and interest in the work of the Association. The enthusiasm awakened at that time by the projected plans for publishing a series of volumes of collections and reprints, erecting a La Salle monument, the proposition to consolidate with the Ohio Valley Historical Association, and the appointment of a number of committees for special work furnished a stimulus which was felt for several months — at least until local and more pressing interests demanded the time and thought of officers and committeemen.

The Indianapolis meeting was a marked success, beginning with the cordial recognition shown the Association for the first time by the American Historical Association. The large attendance, the coöperation of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, the general interest manifested in the joint session presided over by the President of this Association, and the excellence of the program presented, caused many favorable and friendly comments.

At this meeting papers were read by Mr. Isaac J. Cox of Cincinnati, Ohio, Mr. Archer B. Hulbert of Marietta, Ohio, and Mr. Orin G. Libby of Grand Forks, North Dakota. The paper by Mr. Cox was discussed by Mr. Frederic A. Ogg of Boston, Massachusetts, and Mr. Dunbar Rowland of Jackson, Mississippi. Mr. Hulbert's paper was discussed by Mr. Royal B. Way of Bloomington, Indiana, and Mr. John Wilson Townsend of Lexington, Kentucky. In the absence of Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee of Ottawa, Canada, Mr. Libby's paper was inform-

ally discussed by Mr. Clarence W. Alvord of Urbana, Illinois. Papers by Mr. H. G. Gunn of Winnipeg, Canada, and Mr. Dan E. Clark of Iowa City, Iowa, were read by title.

Following the program a short business session was held. A resolution was presented by Mr. Jacob P. Dunn of Indianapolis, Indiana, to the effect that Congress be requested to make an appropriation of \$5,000 annually for the next two years to be expended by the Bureau of Ethnology in preserving the languages of the Indian tribes of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. The same was adopted by the Association.

The officers of this Association met with the Ohio Valley Historical Association and presented a plan for the consolidation of the two organizations. This plan was later considered in detail by the officers of both associations, but owing to peculiar local conditions in the Ohio Valley it was thought not advisable to press the matter at that time. However, a closer bond of sympathy was established between the two organizations, which are in no sense rivals, each having its special field and a distinctive work to do. It is believed, however, that this work could be done more effectively by one organization than through any plan of coöperation that might be devised.

At the Iowa City meeting one year ago your Secretary recommended the appointment of several standing committees for special lines of work. These committees were authorized, and later named as follows:

Publication Committee: Chairman, Mr. Clarence W. Alvord, Urbana, Illinois; Mr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. Frank H. Hodder, Lawrence, Kansas; Mr. Isaac Joslin Cox, Cincinnati, Ohio; and Mr. Clarence S. Paine, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Committee on the Relation of State Historical Societies and Departments of History: Chairman, Mr. Fred-

eric L. Paxson, Madison, Wisconsin; Mr. Franklin L. Riley, University, Mississippi; Mr. Thomas M. Owen, Montgomery, Alabama; Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, Madison, Wisconsin; and Mr. John H. Reynolds, Fayetteville, Arkansas.

Committee on the Teaching of American History Both in Elementary and Secondary Schools: Chairman, Mr. James A. James, Evanston, Illinois; Mr. Thomas F. Moran, Lafayette, Indiana; Mr. J. H. Callahan, Morgantown, West Virginia; Mr. Oliver M. Dickerson, Macomb, Illinois; and Mr. Olynthus B. Clark, Des Moines, Iowa.

Committee on the Establishment of Departments of State History in State Universities: Chairman, Mr. C. H. Van Tyne, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Mr. Albert Watkins, Lincoln, Nebraska; Mr. J. A. Woodburn, Bloomington, Indiana; Mr. Evarts B. Greene, Urbana, Illinois; and Mr. F. M. Anderson, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Committee on State History as a Part of the High School Curriculum: Chairman, Mr. F. P. Goodwin, Cincinnati, Ohio; Mr. F. W. Moore, Nashville, Tennessee; Mr. C. L. Becker, Lawrence, Kansas; Mr. Edward C. Page, Dekalb, Illinois; and Mr. W. R. Tuttle, East St. Louis, Illinois.

Committee on the Administration of Historical Societies: Chairman, Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, Madison, Wisconsin; Mr. E. O. Randall, Columbus, Ohio; Mr. Doane Robinson, Pierre, South Dakota; Mr. Warren Upham, St. Paul, Minnesota; Mr. F. A. Sampson, Columbia, Missouri; Mr. C. M. Burton, Detroit, Michigan; and Mr. Geo. W. Martin, Topeka, Kansas.

Committee on the Standardization of Historical Society Publications: Chairman, Mr. Dunbar Rowland, Jackson, Mississippi; Mr. M. M. Quaife, Chicago, Illinois; Mr. Clarence W. Alvord, Urbana, Illinois; Mr. C. B. Coleman, Indianapolis, Indiana; Mr. Reuben T. Durrett, Louisville, Kentucky; Mr. W. O. Scroggs, Baton Rouge,

Louisiana; and Mr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, Iowa City, Iowa.

Committee on State Historical Museums: Chairman, Mr. Charles E. Brown, Madison, Wisconsin; Mr. Archer B. Hulbert, Marietta, Ohio; Mr. E. R. Harlan, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. W. L. Fleming, Baton Rouge, Louisiana; and Mr. H. C. Fish, Bismarck, North Dakota.

Just how effective has been the work of these committees during the past year will probably develop at this meeting, although it is not expected that any really constructive work has been undertaken. It is recommended that these committees be continued with as little change as possible in their membership, since the work which they have to do is a continuing one and no permanent results should be expected until after a lapse of two or three years at least.

Mr. Orin G. Libby was continued as chairman of the Committee on Historic Sites and was permitted to name his associates. The personnel of the Committee is as follows: Chairman, Mr. Orin G. Libby, Grand Forks, North Dakota; Mr. William A. Meese, Moline, Illinois; Mr. Geo. W. Martin, Topeka, Kansas; Mr. Isaac J. Cox, Cincinnati, Ohio; Mr. W. B. Douglas, St. Louis, Missouri; Mr. Robert Harvey, Lincoln, Nebraska; Mr. Eugene C. Barker, Austin, Texas; Mr. William Beer, New Orleans, Louisiana; Mr. A. B. Stout, Madison, Wisconsin; Mr. St. George L. Sioussat, Sewanee, Tennessee; Mr. Henry J. Patten, Evanston, Illinois; Mr. C. M. Burton, Detroit, Michigan; and Mr. J. W. Townsend, Lexington, Kentucky.

The President later named Mr. James A. James as Chairman of the General Committee on Arrangements for the Evanston meeting, with authority to select his associates. Mr. James named as members of the Committee the following persons: Mr. W. B. Bogart, Mr. Joseph E. Paden, Mr. J. Seymour Currey, Mr. Henry J.

Patten, Mr. Merton J. Clay, Mr. Henry A. Pearsons, Mr. Charles G. Dawes, Mr. William V. Pooley, Mr. Frank R. Grover, Mr. Otto L. Schmidt, Mr. N. D. Harris, Mr. A. G. Terry, Mr. Walter Lichtenstein, Mr. Joseph F. Ward, and Miss Caroline M. McIlvaine. This committee has had charge of the local preparations for this meeting, including the planning of the program.

Owing to readily explainable causes the membership of the Association has not materially increased during the past year. While there have been many additions, there have been some cancellations, so that the net gain is not so large as you have had a right to expect. The responsibility for this rests largely upon your Secretary, and is in no wise to be taken as indicative of any lack of general interest in the work of this Association, nor should it prove in the least discouraging.

At the last annual meeting we reported a total enrollment of 453, to May 20, 1910. Since that date we have enrolled 105 members, and have lost through deaths and cancellations a total of 27, leaving us a net gain of 78 for the year just ended and a total enrollment of 531. This gain represents a natural growth, since no special effort has been made during this period to secure new members.

Volume III of the *Proceedings*, which has just come from the press, will not prove a disappointment to the members of the Association. The volume consists of 452 pages, being nearly twice as large as Volume II. It had been hoped that a complete roster of the membership might be included in this volume, but on the advice of the editor it was omitted to be published separately, since the volume was already as large as it ought to be. It is recommended that the price of this volume to non-members be fixed at \$2.50.

The Association has not yet reached entire financial independence. The reason for this is to be found in the fact that the receipts from annual dues were exhausted

in building up the membership during the first two years, before the first volume of *Proceedings* was published. We have had to catch up, and this has not yet been fully accomplished.

Several plans have been suggested for increasing our revenues. It has been thought by some that we should provide for a life membership at fifty dollars. Others have urged that the annual dues be raised to two or three dollars. Now that we have passed the experimental stage, and the permanency of the Association is assured, we would perhaps be justified in adopting either or both of these propositions.

It is certain that no backward step should be taken. There should be no decline in the general excellence of our programs. The high standard set for our published *Proceedings* must be maintained. The Association must be placed upon a sound financial basis, so that it can do the work for which it was created, the doing of which will alone justify its continued existence. This Association ought to be a clearing house for all the historical activities of the Mississippi Valley; and such it will become if we who believe in its future are willing to carry the burden until the Association by its work compels the recognition which it deserves.

At the last annual meeting the question of the publication of a series of reprints and collections under the auspices of the Association was considered quite fully. After it was voted to reconsider the plan of publication recommended at the St. Louis meeting, an informal report of the special Committee on Publications was presented.

The Committee recommended the acceptance of a verbal proposition, which had been submitted by The Torch Press of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, for the publication of a series of volumes of reprints and collections. The report of the Committee was approved and the Executive

Committee was authorized to name a standing publication committee of five members with power to determine the subject matter and form of such volumes. The details of the contract with The Torch Press were left to the Secretary.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee on the same day a Publication Committee was named. No meeting of the Committee was held until December 28th at Indianapolis, Indiana, although the Chairman submitted to the members of the Committee by mail several propositions for their approval or rejection. At a meeting of the Executive Committee held in Chicago on October 22, 1910, the Secretary reported that he had entered into a conditional contract with The Torch Press of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, in accordance with instructions given at the Iowa City meeting, which required only the approval of the Executive Committee.

After a thorough discussion of the proposed plan for a series of reprints and collections the Secretary was instructed by the Committee not to proceed further with arrangements for publishing, until the Publication Committee had first canvassed the situation as to available materials for the proposed series, and the Publication Committee was requested to outline a general scheme to be presented to the Executive Committee for approval. The Executive Committee also invited Mr. Shambaugh to continue his editorial supervision of the *Proceedings* and to prepare copy for Volume III as soon as practicable.

The matter of binding the published *Proceedings* was left to the President and the Secretary, but so far it has not seemed practicable with our present income to attempt to permanently bind the volumes.

At a meeting of the Publication Committee held in Indianapolis on December 28, 1910, Mr. Alvord was authorized by the Committee to furnish copy for two or three volumes of reprints, and in the meantime to can-

vass the situation as to available material for a series of reprints and collections and to outline a general scheme of publication.

The Secretary then proceeded to complete the details of the contract for publication with The Torch Press of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and to put the same in writing. The following contract has been entered into by The Torch Press and the officers of this Association, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee:

This Agreement, made and entered into by and between The Torch Press, a corporation incorporated under the laws of Iowa, with its principal place of business in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Party of the First Part, and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association of Lincoln, Nebraska, Party of the Second Part,

Witnesseth, That Party of the First Part agrees, except as herein otherwise specified, to furnish all the materials for and to print, bind, and publish a series of volumes of historical collections and reprints for Party of the Second Part, and further agrees that the size of the volumes herein agreed to be published, the quality of paper, style of type, size of type, margins, etc., shall be the same as used in the first three published volumes of the Proceedings of the said Mississippi Valley Historical Association, except as to binding. The binding of said volumes shall be in New York tar-board, basket art canvas (Interlaken), gilt top, head bands, top and bottom, gilt lettering on back and front of covers. Party of the First Part further agrees that all work shall be done in a first-class workmanlike manner and not inferior in any particular to like work on said published volumes.

It is further agreed that Party of the First Part shall do all the work of advertising for sale, selling, shipping, and delivering the said volumes, and shall bear all expense and do all work of every nature and description incident thereto.

In consideration of the Party of the First Part doing each and every act agreed on its part to be done and performed, Party of the Second Part agrees to plan each volume of such series, submit contents of same to Party of First Part for approval, furnish copy for each volume, including the necessary title pages, prefaces, introductions, notes, references and indices,

all carefully edited without expense to Party of the First Part, to furnish competent editorial supervision, to read final galley proof and final page proof.

Party of the Second Part agrees to lend its good will and influence to the extent of its ability in the sale of said volumes to its members and others.

It is further mutually agreed between the parties hereto that the contents of each volume to be published, the cost of printing, and the sale price per volume shall be matters of mutual agreement.

It is further agreed between the parties hereto that Party of the First Part shall pay to Party of the Second Part, as the share of Party of the Second Part, twenty-five (25) per cent of the net profits from the sale of said volumes, and that Party of the First Part shall retain seventy-five (75) per cent of the net profits from the sale of said volumes as the share of party of the First Part. It is agreed that all expenses of publication and distribution shall be first paid out of the gross receipts. It is agreed that statements of expenditures shall be made from time to time to Party of Second Part and at any time when requested by Party of the Second Part.

Provided further that the terms of this contract may be changed or modified in any particular by mutual agreement, after the publication of any volume.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, this 10th day of May, 1911.

The Torch Press

By Luther A. Brewer, President

Mississippi Valley Historical Association

By Benj. F. Shambaugh, President

By Clarence S. Paine, Secretary-Treasurer

While it is wise to go slow and to be sure of our ground in this matter of publication, it would seem that after three years of consideration we ought now to be prepared to go ahead along the lines that have been indicated, or to cease wasting our time in discussing the proposition.

At the last annual meeting the Secretary was di-

rected to proceed with the incorporation of the Association. It was deemed best, if it could be accomplished, to incorporate by act of Congress. A bill was therefore drawn with this object in view and was introduced on January 13, 1911, as H. R. No. 31379 in the Third Session of the Sixty-first Congress, by Mr. Maguire of Nebraska. The following is a copy of the text of the bill, which was referred to the Committee on the Library and ordered to be printed.

A BILL

To incorporate the Mississippi Valley Historical Association

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

That Benj. F. Shambaugh, of Iowa City, in the State of Iowa; Andrew C. McLaughlin, of Chicago, in the State of Illinois; Clarence S. Paine, of Lincoln, in the State of Nebraska; James A. James, of Evanston, in the State of Illinois; Isaac J. Cox, of Cincinnati, in the State of Ohio; Francis A. Sampson, of Columbia, in the State of Missouri; Thomas M. Owen, of Montgomery, in the State of Alabama; Clarence W. Alvord, of Urbana, in the State of Illinois; Orin G. Libby, of Grand Forks, in the State of North Dakota; Reuben G. Thwaites, of Madison, in the State of Wisconsin; Dunbar Rowland, of Jackson, in the State of Mississippi; Charles E. Brown, of Madison, in the State of Wisconsin; George W. Martin, of Topeka, in the State of Kansas; Warren Upham, of Saint Paul, in the State of Minnesota; Edgar R. Harlan, of Des Moines, in the State of Iowa; and William S. Bell, of Helena, in the State of Montana, their associates and successors, are hereby created a body corporate and politic, by the name of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, for the promotion of historical study and research, particularly in the Mississippi Valley, and kindred purposes.

Sec. 2. That said association is authorized to hold real and personal estate and to acquire, control, and dispose of the same, so far as it may be found necessary or expedient to its lawful ends, to an amount not to exceed five hundred thousand dollars, to adopt a constitution, and to make, promulgate, and establish

by-laws for its governance not inconsistent with law. Said association shall have its principal office at Lincoln, in the State of Nebraska, and may hold its meetings annually at such places as may be determined by the association, and it may hold such other meetings at such times and places and upon such conditions and under such rules as may be prescribed by the constitution or by-laws of the association adopted and established hereunder.

This bill died with the adjournment of the Sixty-first Congress, but on May 16, 1911, it was again introduced by Mr. Maguire in the Sixty-second Congress, first session, as H. R. No. 9416. There is, however, little chance for its favorable consideration before the convening of the next regular session.

The Executive Committee has held two meetings during the year. The first was held in Chicago, on October 22, 1910. At this meeting it was formally voted to hold the fourth annual meeting at Evanston, Illinois, the date to be fixed by the local Committee on Arrangements. The President was directed to invite the Illinois State Historical Society to hold its annual meeting for 1911 at Evanston in connection with the meeting of this Association and to extend the same invitation to the North Central History Teachers Association.

The next meeting of the Executive Committee was held in Indianapolis, Indiana, on December 27, 1910. At this time it was decided to organize a history teachers section and to invite the North Central History Teachers Association to form such section. The only other proceeding was a general discussion of plans for the Evanston meeting.

The only deaths (known to the Secretary and not already reported) which have occurred among the members of the Association are the following: Mr. Deloraine Pendre Corey, Malden, Massachusetts, May 6, 1910; Mr. John H. Loomis, Chicago, Illinois, February 7, 1911; Mr. Clark A. Preston, Ionia, Michigan, October 3, 1910; Mr.

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Frederick Wightman Moore, Nashville, Tennessee, April 23, 1911; Mrs. Frederick A. Smith, Chicago, Illinois, December 26, 1910. These were among the earliest members of the Association, and all had been intensely interested in its success. It is recommended that appropriate resolutions be adopted, and made a part of the records of the Association.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Receipts

Cash receipts from membership dues and sale of publications from May 20, 1910, to May 20, 1911, as per list attached and made part of this report	\$826.57
Balance on hand May 20, 1910	73.61

Total receipts	\$900.18
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Disbursements

Disbursements to May 20, 1911, as per vouchers attached and made part of this report:

Printing Volume II of <i>Proceedings</i> . .	\$476.00
Printing stationery, circulars, etc. . .	44.95
Postage and express	82.71
Clerical work	124.16
Secretary's expenses	68.29
Miscellaneous	6.50

Total disbursements	\$802.61
Balance on hand	\$ 97.57

I submit herewith cash book and vouchers with certified check to the order of the Association for the balance on hand.

Respectfully submitted,
C. S. PAINE, Secretary-Treasurer

PAPERS AND ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT THE
DECEMBER MEETING OF THE MISSIS-
SIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION

(Indianapolis, Indiana, December 27, 1910)



THE AMERICAN INTERVENTION IN WEST FLORIDA

BY ISAAC J. COX

[This paper as read has been published in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. XVII, No. 2, January, 1912.]

DISCUSSION

BY FREDERIC A. OGG

Every student of American history will, I am sure, be grateful for fresh light on the tortuous affairs of West Florida. Not since the volumes of Mr. Henry Adams were published, two decades ago, has anybody really added much to our understanding of the subject, for the obvious reason that writers of books and monographs touching the field have been obliged, or content, to thresh over the old straw — the letters and messages of Jefferson and Madison, the *Annals of Congress*, and the documents printed in the *American State Papers*. The subject, however, is peculiarly one which can not be dismissed with such treatment. I am not inclined to regard the West Florida chapter of our history as partaking quite so largely of the character of "shady business" as has commonly been represented. But the interests and policies involved in it were admittedly of such a nature that they were not paraded in the sunlight, and the facts which serve adequately to interpret them must be sought in the remoter depths of our great national stock of historical evidences. It seems to me that the data which Professor Cox has unearthed in the Claiborne and Holmes correspondence, and in other hitherto unused sources, will as-

sist substantially in the writing some day of the final word upon the subject.

One question, with respect to this final judgment, it has occurred to me to raise. Those acquainted with the literature of the subject are aware how nearly unanimous has been the condemnation heaped by writers, from Mr. Adams to Admiral Chadwick, upon the West Florida policies of the Madison administration in the year 1810-1811. Is it not possible that these ethical pronouncements have been somewhat extreme? May it not be that the unquestionably fallacious grounds on which the administration of Mr. Madison sought to base its claim to the sovereignty of West Florida have operated to obscure the real merit of the American position? That the claim to West Florida as a part of the Louisiana Purchase, enunciated first by Livingston, then by Monroe, and taken up successively by Jefferson and Madison, was absolutely without justification of fact, no longer calls for argument. Despite the assertions of the Jefferson administration and the abortive congressional measures of 1804-1805, the United States had absolutely no valid claim to West Florida prior to the events of 1810. But, granting so much, may it not be that the course pursued by the Madison administration in 1810 — even though unfortunately bolstered up at the time by the preposterous claim of 1803 — was less blameworthy than has been commonly represented?

Certain phases of the situation, at any rate, are fairly clear. The first is the fact that local conditions in the West Florida district during the opening decade of the nineteenth century rendered the breakdown of Spanish sovereignty in that quarter sooner or later inevitable. At its *best*, that sovereignty had never meant much; after 1807 or 1808 it meant next to nothing. The chaotic conditions into which Spain was herself plunged by the Napoleonic domination were, as is well enough

understood, in due course reflected in the colonies — in West Florida no less than in Venezuela, or New Granada, or the Argentine. A second circumstance which rendered inevitable the severance of West Florida from Spanish domination was the rapid influx, after 1800, of an English-speaking, American population. From New Orleans on one side and from Natchez on another, Americans — of nondescript character many of them were to be sure, yet including more than one reputable New Yorker and New Englander — pressed across the border-line, occupied lands, got control of the public offices, and forced upon the weakening Spanish authority in the territory concession after concession. There was no inflow of Spaniards, nor prospect of any, and the future as clearly lay with the Americans as it did in the Northwest Territory in 1775, in Texas in 1835, or in Oregon in 1845. A third consideration arises from the fact that the period of the Spanish breakdown in West Florida was distinctly one in which the spirit of revolt was in the air — one in which States were being made and unmade almost over night; and this not merely in Latin America, where all along the line the Spanish authority was crumbling, but also within the United States itself. The spirit of restless, even lawless, independence displayed by the West Floridans of 1810 was of a piece with that exhibited by the Kentuckians and the Tennesseans when they forced independent statehood from reluctant Virginia and North Carolina, and with that so preëminently characteristic of the essentially frontier population of the Southwest all through the first decades of our national history. These — the relaxing of the Spanish grip upon the territory in question, the growing preponderance of the American elements, and the political restlessness characteristic of the period — are but the principal reasons why a revolt of the sort that actually took place in West Florida in 1810

was an altogether natural — and I think one may add, an altogether justifiable — proceeding.

A second point that seems sufficiently clear is that in the event of *any* change of status in West Florida, annexation to the United States was the thing to be expected and to be desired. It was so on the part of Florida, because existence as an independent power was clearly out of the question, absorption by any power other than the United States would have been objectionable to almost everybody concerned, and because most of the English-speaking settlers in Florida, being Americans, had looked forward from the outset to the eventual extension of American sovereignty over the district. Annexation was distinctly to be desired from the American standpoint because the Florida outlets to the Gulf were all but indispensable, and because, whatever happened, it was felt, that the Florida territory must not be allowed to fall into the hands of Great Britain or any other non-American power.

And this suggests a third fundamental aspect — namely, that presented by the international situation of the period. It seems to me not quite fair to judge the administration's Florida policy in 1810 as if it had been shaped and put into execution in an era of unruffled international comity. As a matter of fact, it was devised amid conditions of almost unparalleled international stress, and it bears unmistakable evidence of the fact. In the famous John Rhea letter of October 10, 1810, transmitted to the President by Governor Holmes, the West Florida convention is represented as demanding "the most direct and unequivocal assurances of the views and wishes of the American Government without delay, since our weak and unprotected situation will oblige us to look to some foreign government for support should it be refused to us by the country which we have considered as our parent state." Stripped of its bombast, this meant — at least

it seemed to Mr. Madison to mean — that failure on the part of the United States to comply promptly with the essential demands of the Florida revolutionists would throw the territory immediately into the arms of Great Britain, or some other European power. It is easy enough to-day to minimize the actual menace to the United States herein involved, but from the viewpoint of the Madison administration the danger must have seemed real enough. In the first place, there was the strong possibility, as it appeared in 1810, of the continued preponderance of the Napoleonic régime in Spain, and of the eventual establishment of that régime in the Spanish colonies. This seemed to involve, among other things, the planting of French authority at Baton Rouge, Pensacola, and Mobile, and the considerations, which impelled the Madison administration to deprecate so roundly that contingency, were identical with those which a few years earlier had wrung from Jefferson his remarkable statements concerning our marrying ourselves “to the British fleet and nation” as an offset to a Napoleonic establishment at New Orleans. Barring American intervention, the alternative of French preponderance in West Florida seemed, in 1810, clearly to be the re-planting in that quarter of the sovereignty of Great Britain. British policies, real and supposed, in the Northwest; the impending clash on the maritime issues of the day; the possibility of an appeal from West Florida for British protection, and of an occupation of the territory in question as an incidental blow at Napoleon — these things and more may well serve to justify (at least to *explain*) the suspicion of British designs which Mr. Madison and those who advised him unquestionably cherished toward the close of 1810.

All of this is not to justify completely the course which the administration pursued throughout the West Florida affair. The occupation in 1813 by General Wil-

kinson of the Mobile District was questionable in its methods, and, lacking the sanction of successful revolution which existed in the case of the Baton Rouge District, was of very doubtful propriety. And the manner in which the administration handled the problem of *East Florida*, beginning with President Madison's commission to Matthews and McKee in January, 1811, was open to criticism on the ground of bungling management, if not of intentional double-dealing. In general, however, the facts to which allusion has been made — all aspects of the situation taken into account — would seem to relieve the intervention of 1810 of the ruthless character which has commonly been ascribed to it. At the most, that intervention but instituted a chain of events which led, occasionally by devious ways, to an end that was from the outset inevitable.

DISCUSSION

BY DUNBAR ROWLAND

We feel greatly indebted to Professor Cox for his interesting contribution to the history of the expansion of the United States. His scholarly paper is the result of extended research upon the subject in the Department of State, many of the sources having never, heretofore, been used.

The purpose of this discussion is to indicate some further sources of information, and to dissent from the generally accepted opinion that the United States, in the acquisition of West Florida, was guilty of appropriating territory in such a manner as to bring discredit upon us as a nation.

Many of the sources used by Professor Cox are also on file in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, and in addition there is a considerable collection of letters to Governor David Holmes, dealing with the events leading up to the acquisition of West Florida. These papers include letters from Governor W. C. C. Claiborne, of Orleans Territory; Judge Harry Toulmin, of the Mississippi Territorial Court of Washington County; John Rhea, President of the Convention of the "State of Florida", and John W. Leonard, Edmund Hawes and John H. Johnson, prominent members of the convention. The executive journal of Governor Holmes contains important letters and military orders before and after the people of West Florida declared their independence of Spain; and the journal of Governor Claiborne contains a complete narrative of the stirring events of the American occupation.

I have always been inclined to the opinion that historians in treating the acquisition of West Florida, have overworked the idea that we have been guilty of gross injustice to Spain — a helpless, friendly power. We have been pictured as conscienceless land pirates by more than one historian. While our conduct is not entirely clear of the charge of rapacious greed, even of unlawful measures, in the acquisition of territory in the early colonization of this hemisphere, the indictment should stop somewhere. Applying the standards in vogue at that period of the world's history to our own acts, I doubt if even this admission would put us out of honorable mention with other nations.

We should not forget, however, that the real game was being played in Europe, and we, out of touch with its larger meaning, had only to accept the progress of maneuvers that had been going on for decades. The rights of territory had been shifting there like kaleidoscopic colors, and, admitting Napoleon's barbaric methods, neither England nor Spain were without questionable conduct in their transactions with other nations; and if we on this side obeyed the laws of self-preservation to the disadvantage of others, we only practiced the lesson taught us by our elders. But separating those instances of acquisition in which "might makes right" from those characterized by justifiable procedure, I take for the present illustration the acquisition of West Florida. We have grown so accustomed to the charge of injustice in the acquisition of this piece of territory, that the historian generally takes that part for granted in his treatment of the subject. The same charge has also been made in connection with the acquisition of Louisiana, Texas and the Pacific Coast, the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippine Islands and the Canal Strip in Panama; in fact all the additions of territory which have made us a great nation have been treated by many historians as so

much high-handed plunder of the weak. These opinions, while much in vogue, are by no means final, and I believe that in the future some if not all of them will become subjects of reconsideration. Mindful of the risk I am running in taking issue with long-accepted opinions which have become imbedded in our thought and history, I must say that a close investigation of the subject reveals the fact that we as a nation, have not been habitually given to increasing our national domain by unworthy methods. Such men as Jefferson, Madison, Polk, McKinley, and Roosevelt were not unmindful of the nation's honor in the acquisition of additional territory. On the contrary, a careful study of the subject reveals the fact that they were guided by principles of far-seeing statesmanship, attended by no illegitimate methods; and I believe that the final opinion, sustained by the facts, will show that, without a single exception, every addition of new territory cited here has been brought about by conditions that warranted the steps taken to secure it. This is especially true of West Florida, and a careful study of all the sources of information in Washington and in the Mississippi archives, relating to its acquisition, will, I think, relieve us of the censure under which we have so long rested.

The acquisition of West Florida by the United States was the logical and inevitable result of local disorder, endangering our peace and progress, which began as early as 1800, hastened by a fear of its occupation by Great Britain, a fear not only felt by the people of the United States, but also entertained by the American inhabitants of the territory, who were eager to avoid such a contingency. These conditions, irrespective of the claim of the United States under the cession of Louisiana, and the conquest of Spain by Napoleon, would have resulted in valid annexation.

It will be remembered that conditions in Spain caused

the spirit of revolution to break out in nearly all of her American colonies at about the same time. Spain, crushed by Napoleon, was depending upon the military genius of Great Britain, guided by the Duke of Wellington, for its very existence as an independent nation. There had been a complete breaking down of the powers of government at home, and the Spanish colonies of the Americas were not slow in setting up governments for themselves in payment for centuries of misrule and oppression. In the case of West Florida the powers of government were so much relaxed, and disorder was so great, as to prompt the people to organize themselves for self-protection.

In the course of the discussion aroused in Congress by the occupation of West Florida, Henry Clay made an announcement of international law which clearly gives the position of the United States in that matter, as follows: "If a parent country will not, or cannot maintain its authority in a colony adjacent to us, and there exists in it a state of misrule or disorder, menacing our peace, and if, moreover, such colony by passing into the hands of another power, would become dangerous to the integrity of the Union, and manifestly tend to the subversion of our laws — we have a right, upon eternal principles of self-preservation, to lay hold of it". If that statement is founded upon correct principles, the question is, did the conditions as given by Mr. Clay exist in West Florida? There is ample evidence to show that precisely such conditions did exist there. This being the situation of affairs, it justified the occupation of the province by the United States under the rules of national obligation as laid down by Henry Clay. It should also be borne in mind, that there was an overwhelming Americanization of the territory, and that the people were daily appealing to the United States for annexation.

That there was a failure on the part of Spain to

maintain its authority, and to suppress raiding, brigandage, robbery and murder, is proved by a perusal of the Journals of Governors Robert Williams and David Holmes of Mississippi Territory from 1805 to 1810. Further evidence is given in the *American State Papers, Foreign Affairs*, Vol. II., pp. 683-689. These disorders from a broader view, are illustrated by such occurrences as the capture by Spain of American ships in the Gulf in 1804, the Kemper affair in 1805, the Caller raid on Mobile, the Sabine expedition and the filibuster expedition of Aaron Burr.

The remaining question is, was there danger of West Florida's passing into the hands of the English? That war with Great Britain was inevitable was evident in 1810. It came in 1812. In that war we were compelled to prevent the Southern coast from falling into the hands of a powerful enemy. The occupation of West Florida was completed in 1813, and if the government had not acted promptly, a most humiliating page in our history might have been written in Andrew Jackson's reports of the battle of New Orleans.

On the question as to the danger from Great Britain, and on general conditions in West Florida, the following excerpt from a letter cited by Professor Cox, from Governor Holmes to Secretary Smith, dated June 20, 1810, throws light. Governor Holmes wrote: "Unfortunately from the mixed nature of their population, they [the people of West Florida] are divided in opinion as to the means best calculated to insure the safety of society. There is a distinctly marked American party, a British party, and until of late there existed a French party. The wish of the American party is that the province may become a part of the United States; the most prudent of them, however, are not in favor of taking immediate steps to effect this object, lest by failing of success they might hereafter be punished for the attempt, yet it is probable

that they would incur the risk rather than be subjected to any foreign power, or encounter the peril of anarchy; and in the prospect of that event I do not doubt but that they would solicit the protection of the United States. It is the wish of the British party to see the country under the power of Great Britain, and they would readily aid any project to effect that purpose which might promise success. They profess, however, to support the right of the Spanish King, and generally act in unison with the Spanish party. . . . There is nothing to be apprehended from the interference of any foreign country except that of Great Britain. She may be solicited by a party to extend protection to a people thus left almost destitute of government." (Holmes's *Journal*, 1810, pp. 445-447.)

Separate and apart from the question of whether title to West Florida passed to the United States by the cession of Louisiana, and leaving out of consideration the evasive or shifting language of diplomacy, it seems obvious, in view of all the evidence, that we have no real cause to complain of the acquisition of West Florida by the United States.

A CENTENNIAL OF WESTERN STEAMBOAT NAVIGATION

BY ARCHER B. HULBERT

The centennial was conducted by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania and the Ohio Valley Historical Association, the city of Pittsburg and its citizens contributing the funds (about twenty-five thousand dollars) to defray expenses. All supervision of the celebration aside from the program was in the hands of Mayor W. A. Magee and Mr. W. H. Stevenson, President of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania; the program was arranged by the President of the Ohio Valley Historical Association coöperating with Mr. W. W. Longmoor and Mr. H. B. Mackoy of the Ohio Valley Historical Association.

The centennial exercises were held in the Carnegie Library Building, a fine Transportation Exhibit in the Museum being one feature of the centennial. The first exercises were held on Monday afternoon, October 30th, at two o'clock, with Mr. H. B. Temple of Washington and Jefferson College, Vice President of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, in the chair. The program included papers by President Edwin Earle Sparks of Pennsylvania State College on "The Ohio River and American Expansion", by Professor G. A. M. Dyess of the University of Pittsburg on "Washington, Pittsburg and Inland Navigation", and by Miss H. Dora Stecker of Cincinnati on "The New Orleans and Early Steamboat Companies in the West".

In the evening a "Water Ways Meeting" was held in Carnegie Hall with addresses by Mayor Magee, Gov-

ernor Tener, Colonel John Vance, President of the Ohio River Improvement Association, Congressman John Dalzell, who spoke on the subject of the Pittsburg and Lake Erie Ship Canal, and Rev. C. Seymour Bullock, descendant of Robert Livingston.

On Tuesday morning the arrival of President Taft was heralded at Schenley Park by several thousand school children and Forbes Field claimed the attention of Pittsburg's visitors. Here in the presence of President Taft and Miss Mabel Boardman of the National Red Cross Society the first National Mine Safety Demonstration experiments were held under the auspices of the United States Bureau of Mines, the American Red Cross Society, and the Pittsburg Coal Operators Association.

Forty teams of trained miners representing twenty-eight mining companies from all sections of the United States performed alternately in sections facing the grandstand. Their operations were truly marvelous in the rapidity and dexterity with which all kinds of imaginary wounds were treated. Each team, captained and uniformed in khaki, blue jumpers, or white, did their problems and won enthusiastic applause from those not familiar with the perfection attained in training men who work with pick and safety lamp to care for their fellows when injured.

Probably the most spectacular events of the morning were the explosions in the steel gallery, and the subsequent rescue and first aid by squads of miners who entered with oxygen helmets over their heads and emerged from the smoke and fume laden chamber with their victims. The first demonstration was made by a permissible explosion, equal in disruptive force to one-half pound of forty per cent nitroglycerin tamped with one pound of dry fire clay. This was fired into the big cylinder when the President touched a key from his box in the grandstand. Within the tube, which represented

an underground tunnel, or part of a coal mine, were one hundred and fifty-three pounds of coal dust from the Pittsburg seam. The result of the first shot was a sharp report but no explosion.

A short time later came the pyrotechnical feature of the program. A charge of FFF black powder, equal in disruptive force to one-half pound of forty per cent nitroglycerin, was fired into the gallery which contained the same number of pounds and the same quality of coal dust as in the first test.

From the mouth of the tube belched a lurid column of flame, followed by dense clouds of black smoke. The spectacle was accompanied by a terrific report which shook the ground and caused a surprise among spectators many hundred feet away. The experiment was illustrative of the safety in using a permissible explosive and the danger in using black powder in a dusty mine..

Immediately after the explosion, and while the tube was filled with an intense cloud of smoke and gas, a rescue party of foremen of the Mine Bureau aided by squads from the Illinois Rescue Station Commission, the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, the Pittsburg & Buffalo Company, and other local companies, with types of artificial breathing apparatus, entered the gallery to recover supposed victims.

In a moment they emerged, bearing their victims, and placed them in a Red Cross ambulance which had come to their aid. Miners overcome by afterdamp and with lacerated scalp, fractures and burns of various sizes, were treated, and all in an incredibly short time. This rescue team was in charge of Captain J. M. Webb of the government station at Urbana, Illinois.

Addresses by Governor Tener, Miss Boardman, and President Taft concluded the interesting program.

At 1:30 o'clock in the afternoon a monster crowd, estimated at about 60,000, assembled on the shore of the

Monongahela River at the foot of Wood Street to witness the christening of the quaint little "New Orleans", by Alice Roosevelt Longworth, and the river pageant which followed. This little boat was built at a cost of \$10,500 by the city of Pittsburg during the summer of 1911 as nearly like the Fulton-Livingston-Roosevelt "New Orleans" of 1811 as present laws would permit. Instead of having a model hull, the "New Orleans" drew only two feet of water. The chief thing of interest in the boat was the machinery which varied little in type from that of the original boat.

Standing between the nearest lineal descendants of the Livingston, Fulton, and Fitch families, the daughter of Theodore Roosevelt, whose grand uncle Nicholas J. Roosevelt built and sailed the "New Orleans" of 1811, christened the 1911 replica. President Taft spoke a few words whereupon the whistles of some fifty steamers flanking the "New Orleans" sounded their acclaim and the parade led by the little side-wheeler and followed by the "Virginia", the flag-ship of the squadron bearing the presidential party and members of the two historical societies, got under way. Reaching Davis Island the "Virginia" returned, allowing the President to review the pageant. The noise of the whistles of mill and furnace and locomotive on shore, the booming of the whistles of the passing vessels combined to make a spectacle and a thundering music never to be forgotten.

A day of genuine interest was concluded by an evening of intense enthusiasm at the Chamber of Commerce Banquet (over eight hundred plates being laid) at which President Taft replied forcefully to Congressman Martin W. Littleton's address advocating the repeal of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law which was loudly applauded by the many guests who were in sympathy with the interests of the United States Steel Corporation, a score of whose officials were present. The marvelously decorated hall,

the plausible argument of the noted Long Island democrat, the spontaneous and robust answer of the President, and the whimsically fitting reflections of Job E. Hedges who contended that "three could be wrong as well as two" completed a day which bore little resemblance to the usual run of days in historical society conventions, but which was not without its inspiration.

On Wednesday morning, with Mr. Harry Brent Mackoy, Secretary of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, in the chair, three interesting papers were read as follows:

"The Wheeling Bridge Case and the Pittsburgh-Wheeling Rivalry for Commercial Headship on the Ohio" by Professor James Morton Callahan of the University of West Virginia, Morgantown, West Virginia; "Brig and Ship Building on the Ohio and its Tributaries" by Mr. R. T. Wiley of Elizabeth, Pennsylvania; "The Belmont Bridge Case" by Mr. George Cowles Lay of New York City.

At a business meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association Mr. Harry Brent Mackoy was elected President and Mr. Frank P. Goodwin of Woodward High School, Cincinnati, was elected Secretary and Treasurer, the remaining officers continuing in office. On motion of Mr. Hulbert a committee was appointed to arrange as close a relationship of an auxiliary nature as possible with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association without absolutely giving up individual name and existence. It was the general sentiment of the officers and members that the abandonment of the present name and organization would be to lose the sympathy of many in the valley who are now somewhat interested in the work of the Association. The treasurer's report showed a balance of \$160.00 in the treasury.

In the afternoon papers of inspiring value were read by Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites of Madison, Vice Presi-

dent of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and by Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, on "What an Historical Building Should Mean to Pittsburg". The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania has purchased a site for a new building, an appropriation from the State having recently been made for the purpose. A discussion of the place of an historical society and its building was needed in Pittsburg and the morning papers of Thursday commented favorably on Mr. Thwaites's suggestion that Pittsburg copy Buffalo's example in giving \$5,000 a year toward the support of the local historical society on educational grounds.

Dr. Carl R. Fish of Wisconsin followed with an admirable paper discussing "New England's Relation to the Ohio Valley".

In the evening the final session was held in the Auditorium of Memorial Hall, with Mr. Hulbert of the Ohio Valley Historical Association presiding. The papers of the evening were as follows:

"The Future of Navigation on Our Western Rivers" by Mr. Albert Bettinger of Cincinnati, Ohio; "Pittsburg the Key to the Revolution in the West" by Mr. James Alton James of Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois; and "The Mississippi Basin and Our Problems of the Pacific" by Mr. Homer B. Hulbert, formerly editor of *The Korea Review*.

Prizes were distributed to school children who successfully competed in writing essays on the events celebrated by the centennial. Though the literary meetings were very poorly attended the various papers read were of positive value.

DISCUSSION

BY R. B. WAY

However true it is that local or sectional history has a distinct interest of itself, its greatest value lies in its contribution to the history of the United States as a whole. Its study should be undertaken by students of American history with the distinct purpose of persevering in the investigation of only those subjects of local interest which have an important bearing upon the history of a great section or the entire nation. To antiquaries, pioneers, local admiration societies, and the like can well be left the task of a minute examination of the events of mere local significance. The local or sectional topics selected should ever be investigated with their contributory value in view.

The steamboat navigation upon the Ohio is but one of the paragraphs or sections in a chapter upon the history of transportation in the Mississippi Valley. All centennial celebrations of the beginning of steam navigation upon the Ohio, to my mind, should persistently endeavor to bring out the place of the Ohio and its navigation in the national problems of transportation. To do this it will first be necessary to show the factors which entered into the early trans-Alleghanian transportation problem. The westward migration of the early decades of the eighteenth century will have to be recalled; the distribution of this population and the development of different surplus products in the several districts west of the mountains must be shown. In doing this, the settlement and character of the Genesee country of western New York, the northwestern section of Pennsylvania, the con-

nection of the Ohio with the Susquehanna by way of the Juniata, the Monongahela Valley, the Potomac, the Great Kanawa region, and their inter-relations with each other and with the extensive Ohio River system and its communication with the Southwest by way of the Gulf will be disclosed and the great value of the Ohio as a route of travel will be explained.

As introductory topics, I would therefore suggest: (1) The Ohio and Westward Migration Before 1811; (2) The Means of Transportation Before 1811; (3) The Ohio as a Determinant Factor in the Location of the Early Settlements of the Valley.

In the period between 1817 and 1840 various attempts were made to inaugurate a national system of improved transportation in the United States. Before 1832 such sectionalism had been displayed upon the question in and out of Congress that little hope remained of the possibility of the construction of any national system of water communication. The period, 1817-1840, however, records the entrance of the question of the development of American waterways in public life as a national issue and the history of the various individual, State, and national efforts to perfect, complete, inland water communications. The presence of distinct physiographic sections, the entrance of a considerable population therein and the production of different products for exportation with the rise of different economic wants, within the individual districts alone made intercommunication urgent. The local projects of moment were those for connection with the Great Lakes or the Ohio River. An increasing population at the same time demanded the improvement of the Ohio. To bring this out I would suggest such topics as the following: (1) The Physiographic and Economic Sections of the Mississippi Valley and Their Relation to the Ohio; (2) The Condition of Local Markets on the Ohio;

(3) The Obstacles to Rapid and Cheap Transportation upon the Ohio.

With the period of canal agitation and construction, 1817-1836 and on, the Ohio was furnished not only with assisting tributary lines of communication but also with new competitors as canals and improved roads connected with the Erie system and the Pennsylvania line of transportation. A great contest arose which finally resulted in the defeat of New Orleans in its fight for the trade of the West. To disclose the great importance of the Ohio as a factor in the memorable contest of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New Orleans for the western trade, the national importance of the New West must be shown; the diversified agricultural interests of the different sections and the location and growing importance of the manufacturing centers of the West must be disclosed; the extent of territory and trade naturally tributary to each contesting commercial city and the fierce efforts of each city to snatch from its competitors portions of that territory must be made clear. For this, I would suggest the following topics: (1) The Early Plans of the Commercial Cities for Securing the Trade of the West; (2) Canal and other Improved Transportation Interests in the West; (3) The Contest of the Ohio with the Canals to 1840; (4) The Geographic Changes in the West to 1840 which Affected the Carrying Trade on the Ohio.

But no sooner was the Ohio well entered upon its struggle with the canals which directed commerce away from it than the early railroads were built which added more powerful opposition to the Ohio's old-time supremacy. This first era of the railroads lasted from 1840 to 1860 and resulted in a permanent victory for the railroads. Here I would study: (1) The Rise, Growth, and Influence of the Great Trunk Lines of Railroads which Drew Commerce away from the Ohio; (2) Reasons for the Victory of the Railroads. This may be very well

continued through 1840, down to the 90's and would make a splendid contribution for both history and economics. This would include several topics suggested by Professor Hulbert and relate them to the more important theme of which they are but subordinate parts and of scant value when presented alone.

These contests for trade need not consume all our attention. The life upon the Ohio throughout the century can well be pictured; the numbers employed in navigation, their influence on the wage market in the West and East; their experiences and the element which they contributed to the population of the West can be shown.

Coming to the post-bellum period, the rise and development of the modern industrial corporations need to be reviewed in order to disclose the additional burdens placed upon the Ohio, if the River is to continue an important means of transportation. The inadequacy of present railroad transportation can be examined; the Ohio as a present contributory agent in the solution of our transportation problems can be discussed. The needs of State and national coöperation in its permanent improvement can then be appreciated.

I have, it will be seen, in my suggestions constantly endeavored to keep in mind the great theme for which any centennial celebration of the steam navigation on the Ohio ought to be held. I have aimed to discourage any tendency to deal with any topics unrelated to the great theme, however interesting locally they may be.

DISCUSSION

BY JOHN WILSON TOWNSEND

Realizing that we have just heard the foremost authority on the Ohio River, Professor Hulbert, I shall not be bold enough to attempt to add to or to take from anything that he has said; nor shall I discuss Mr. Way's remarks — excellent though they are. I shall confine my attention to the life and work of one man, a Kentuckian.

Howsoever much I should like to present to you the claims of Kentucky historical writers for the fact that John Fitch, sitting upon the banks of the Ohio River in June, 1780, was the first to conceive the idea for the steamboat; and that, in 1787, he and James Rumsey really became the twin inventors of this boat; that Fulton, not Fitch or Rumsey, has been immortalized, while the very graves of "poor John Fitch", as he characterized himself, and James Rumsey have become places of debris; that the Kentucky Edward West invented a successful steamboat in 1794; that as late as 1839 Congress recognized James Rumsey, Jr., as the son of the inventor of the steamboat; that howsoever much, I say, I should like to discuss at length these men and measures, I must content myself with a note on the man who really made the Kentucky River navigable — a man who has been entirely disregarded by western historians and who has not even a State-wide reputation — Lysander Hord.

Born in Kentucky in 1816, Hord was educated at Centre and Augusta colleges. A student of law in the Frankfort office of Governor Charles S. Moorehead and Judge Mason Brown before he was of age, a member of the Franklin County bar in 1839, he was in the Kentucky

legislature from 1849 to 1850, police and county judge of Franklin County, the father of reform in the State penitentiary. Ever an earnest advocate of internal improvements, he died crowned with a Commonwealth's admiration and esteem at the age of eighty-seven years in January, 1903.

It was while a member of the Kentucky legislature that Judge Hord realized the necessity for Federal aid for the improvement of the Kentucky River, which had been abandoned by the State, and he succeeded in passing the bill which ceded to the United States government the right to improve that beautiful waterway. Hord was, with the possible exception of Mark Twain, the most unselfish lobbyist that ever descended upon Congress. Arriving in the nation's capital on January 22, 1879, exactly two weeks and two days later he left for his Kentucky home with an appropriation for one hundred thousand dollars for the improvement of the navigation of the Kentucky River an assured fact. All save one of the members of the Kentucky delegation deserted him, discouraged him, telling him that he had better go home, that he had no chance this session, etc. With the famous N. S. Shaler making his speech for him before the committee, with Henry Watterson wailing through the columns of the *Courier-Journal* that Kentucky's representatives in both branches of Congress were traitors to a Kentucky cause, Hord girded his loins and went to see some other member of his delegation or committee. Dauntlessly he struggled and victorious he finally was.

While in Washington Judge Hord kept a diary of his struggles for the appropriation. This diary, which lies before me as I write, is a real human document. It tells very vividly how Hord labored single-handed, for the most part, for his pet project. If ever a man went up from Kentucky to the national capital determined to put his idea into the minds of a Congressional committee and

to make them vote his idea an appropriation, that man was Lysander Hord. He later worked this diary up into an interesting pamphlet.

Of course there were several small locks, and dams on the Kentucky, and many small steamboats plied its waters before Hord got the Federal government to improve it; but the boats, locks, and dams were thoroughly inadequate. Though the eleven locks and dams upon the river are monuments to his statesmanship and zeal, and though he will be known in history as the Father of Federal River Improvements in Kentucky, yea the Father of Steamboat Navigation on the Kentucky River, the time has come when Kentucky should erect a lasting monument to the memory of Lysander Hord.

NEW LIGHT ON THE EXPLORATIONS OF THE VERENDRYES

BY ORIN G. LIBBY

In this paper Mr. Libby pointed out that the supposed visit of the Verendryes to the Mandans of the Missouri River rested upon no evidence whatever, but merely upon tradition. It was shown that the people visited by the Verendryes in 1738 were not the historic Mandans, but their near neighbors on the north, the Hidatsa. The evidence for this conclusion was drawn partly from Verendrye's own account of his visit and his description of the villages, which show that the Indians inhabiting them could not have been the Mandans. The conclusion was still further strengthened by evidence from the journal of the two sons, who in 1742 explored the region west of the Missouri River up to the Rocky Mountains.

THE FIGHT FOR FREE TRADE IN RUPERT'S LAND

BY H. G. GUNN

The Hudson's Bay Company, under the charter granted to it by Charles II in 1670, claimed exclusive privileges and powers in Rupert's Land. This vast territory, embracing all the lands drained by rivers flowing into Hudson Bay not already occupied by the subjects of any other Christian prince, it claimed as its property, to hold in fee simple, to alienate as it chose, to govern and make laws for as suited it best, and to exploit as a gigantic fur preserve to the absolute exclusion of all and sundry whomsoever.

For full two hundred years from the date of its birth on the Bay, it strove legally, diplomatically, and by force of arms, to enforce against all comers these sweeping terms of its charter. It fought with individual adventurers and powerful organized companies, and one by one it drove them from the field. Its last and most powerful rival, the famous Northwest Company of Montreal, it finally rid itself of by absorption in 1821.

With the amalgamation of these two companies there came to an end what might be termed the first period of the conflict. Having rid herself of all opposition, on her own territory, by one method or another, she could look about her and say, like Alexander Selkirk on his lonely isle:

I am monarch of all I survey:
My right there is none to dispute:
From the centre all round to the sea,
I am lord of the fowl and the brute.

But this season of blissful security and serenity did not last long. During the ten years immediately preceding this coup of the Great Company a new element had been gradually introduced into the scene of her operations. Lord Selkirk, himself a controlling factor in the famous concern, with tragic determination, had been struggling to found his colony on the banks of the Red River. The year previous to that which saw the two warring companies strike hands and become one saw the death of the Noble Earl; but the Colony of Hardy Yeomen which, with much tribulation he had founded, lived on. Taken from the hardiest, staunchest, most independent-spirited stock of Europe, they were not of the sort that die. They were the kind of stuff out of which not slaves but a free people and free institutions are made. But it was this very characteristic that spelled trouble for the Hudson's Bay Company. No fifteenth century feudalism could hope to fasten itself long upon such a stock. It was as inevitable as fate that sooner or later the two should come into conflict; and, whenever that happened, there could be but one result. The founding by Lord Selkirk of this settlement on the banks of the Red River of the North was a fateful thing. It was the beginning of the end for the Great Company. It was "the axe laid at the root of the tree", and it wasn't long before the chips began to fly.

The amalgamation of the two companies in 1821 was an event that contributed greatly to the growth and development of the settlement. The new reign of peace that this brought gave the settlers the opportunity of becoming established in their holdings and of gathering around themselves some of the substantialities as well as the comforts of life. The numerical strength of the Settlement, too, was materially increased by the event. On account of the terrible strife between the two companies, just prior to their amalgamation, they had in

their employ about triple the number of servants required by the trade. When the union took place, hundreds of these, their services being no longer needed, were allowed to retire: and many of these so released, with their families, took up their permanent residence in the colony. From this source alone, in the two years immediately succeeding the union, the numerical strength of the Settlement was more than doubled.

Among these retired servants of the great trading companies were virile and varied elements. The original "engagés," both of French or English and Scotch extraction, had, at an early period, married into native families; and the mixed-blood progeny of these, known among the French as the "Metis", were a very considerable factor at this time, both in point of numbers and of aggressiveness. Among this class, as well as among the pure-blood Europeans who had come into the Settlement through this same channel or as colonists under Lord Selkirk, were men of education, energy and ability, accustomed to trade, and who did not need anybody to remind them of their rights as free citizens under the flag. By such as these it was impossible that the obnoxious claim of the Hudson's Bay Company to an absolute monopoly in the trade of the country should go long unchallenged. Nor did it. Out of these came the private merchant and importer; and, as early as 1832, a number of them were already in the field. In another ten years their name was legion. They brought in their petty consignments of goods by the Company's ships through Hudson Bay and disposed of them in the Settlement, or among the Indian camps, to whoever would buy.

And what had the Great Company to say with regard to this bare-faced encroachment upon its chartered rights? Nothing. It smiled considerably and tried to appear as if it liked it. It is not a wise thing to force doubtful issues. And the "Smug Old Lady" of Fen-

church Street was nothing if she was not wise. As early as 1823, only two years after the great coup that gave everything into her hands, this business of buying and selling under her nose had commenced in the Settlement, and the local officers of the Company *did* make an effort to stamp it out. They sought to inforce their monopoly upon the Colonists even to the extent of forbidding them to buy horses, leather, or provisions from the Indians. The move was met by a vigorous protest from Captain Bulger, the Colony Governor, to the executors of Lord Selkirk, who, in turn, protested to the Hudson's Bay directors in London. The London directors, realizing the seriousness of such a situation, despatched a special express post haste to Red River and the obnoxious prohibition was withdrawn. This marked the first step in the direction of free trade. From this time on no open antagonism is shown by the Company authorities to the petty merchant of the Settlement. The settler may buy from the Indian for his necessities. He may import and trade in English goods. And the Company — marvelous to relate — will perform the part of a common carrier — although it isn't — and transport her petty rival's merchandise for him across the sea in her own ships. Open opposition and conflict is to be avoided. But there are other ways, perhaps, by which the desirable result — restraint of trade — may be accomplished; and these she is not slow to put into operation. Excessive freight rates are charged on goods coming in by the Bay, and other vexatious restrictions are enacted. An import duty of 20% is levied on the prime cost of all merchandise so imported, unless the petty importer can show a clean record with regard to the crime of private traffic in furs.

This, of course, was the capital crime in the eyes of the Company. Trade a mink or a beaver, except to them, and you touched the apple of their eye. They would sooner tolerate anything than that. It was their

prime prerogative, that they were determined to maintain at all hazards — the last ditch of chartered privilege out of which they refused to budge. To traffic in any way in furs, except as their middleman or agent, was for the offender to put himself in the position of an outlaw, so far as the favor of the Company was concerned. Almost every law or regulation devised by the Hudson's Bay Governor and Council, which, at this time, was the only government of the country, had in it something to enforce this particular tenet of their commercial creed. All letters of private importers of goods to their agents in England had to be left open for inspection, when handed in to the Company for transmission. The importer had to sign a declaration that he had not trafficked in furs and would not do so in future. Before being allowed to trade he had to obtain a license from the same authority, in which the same solemn declaration was exacted. And when he came to get the deed of his land upon which he had made his domicile and establishment, he found in it a clause of similar import, declaring it to be null and void, in case it should be found, at any time thereafter, that he had committed the above mentioned crime, either before or subsequent to its issue.

That these regulations were no mere meaningless formality was amply borne out by the practice of the Company, who did all in their power to fulfill the Scripture that says "the way of the transgressor is hard." In one well known case, that of Mr. Jas. Sinclair, a leader among the petty merchants and free traders, the offender was not only denied the privilege of export by collusion but was served with formal notice of the Company's refusal to carry his merchandise into the country. All of which vexatious regulations, of course, since they applied to the private individual in the Settlement equally with the trader, did not help to allay the general feel-

ing of dissatisfaction with trade conditions under Hudson's Bay rule that was abroad in the Colony.

Another serious cause of complaint among the settlers on the Red River, at this time, was the utter inadequacy of the market for the products of their industry. Their sole market was the Hudson's Bay Company, and that corporation could take but a limited quantity of what they had to offer. But even for what they could dispose of in this way they got the smallest value in return. As the Company was the sole market, they could set the price to suit themselves. The way they did this is exemplified by what took place in 1829. This year a formal enactment was passed by the Governor and Council reducing the price of farm commodities as follows: wheat, from 7s. 6d. per bushel to 3s. 6d.; barley, from 5s. per bushel to 2s.; potatoes, from 3s. per bushel to 6d.; beef, from 6d. per lb. to 2d.; butter, from 1s. per lb. to 7d.; eggs, from 1s. per doz. to 6d.; pork, from 6d. per lb. to 2d.; and so on proportionately throughout: all commodities which the Company had to sell, however, remained the same, with the exception of their land, which was raised during the same year from 5s. per acre to 7s. 6d.

Such a bare-faced "bulling" of what little market there was, could not do otherwise, of course, than arouse intense dissatisfaction among the people; a dissatisfaction that found vent a few years later in a physical demonstration before the gates of Fort Garry. Upon this occasion the following formal demands were made upon the Company: (1) that the price of produce should be raised; (2) that facilities should be given the settlers for the export of tallow, robes and other articles produced by the chase; and (3) that no import duty should be charged on goods brought from the United States. In the latter of these demands we are introduced to a new feature of the fight for free trade in Rupert's Land.

As time passed, and the serious handicap of being

dependent upon the Hudson's Bay Company for a market and for transportation facilities became more and more apparent, the colonists were forced to look around for relief from some other quarter. This they discovered in the Great Republic lying to the south of them. True, the nearest settlements under the stars and stripes, at which they could hope to exchange their produce lay many hundred miles away; and between them and the Red River Settlement intervened a waste of trackless wilderness, infested by roving bands of Indians that were as often hostile as they were peaceable. It was 450 miles to St. Peter, Minnesota, the present city of St. Paul (their nearest point) and there was always the marauding Sioux to reckon with in negotiating the transit. Add to this the fact that the only means of transportation at their disposal was the Indian cayuse or clumsy ox hitched to a Red River cart, a crude, two-wheeled vehicle of country manufacture without a speck of iron in its structure, and you will have some idea of the nature and magnitude of the undertaking. The Red River cart was a crude instrument with which to fight a giant monopoly; and the task which the settlers set themselves to solve with it might have seemed hopeless. It proved in the end, however, more effective than a good deal of our modern anti-trust legislation.

This commercial intercourse between the frontier settlements of the United States and the Colony on the banks of the Red River of the North began, I may say, at quite an early stage in the Colony's development. In the years 1822-1824 American stockmen opened up this communication by driving herds of cattle from Louisiana and Kentucky to Red River by way of St. Paul; and, from that time on, an intercourse, more or less intermittent but always increasing, was kept up between Fort Garry and the American trade centers to the South. Before another decade had passed, the creaking Red River

cart was wobbling its way to St. Peter, marking out the trail over those vast prairies where now half a dozen of the greatest railway systems on the continent are vieing with each other for the traffic. Within still another decade, more than 1,200 of these primitive pioneers of transportation had wended their way back and forth, bearing to the South the spoils of the chase and the farm and taking back in exchange the products of the American manufactory.¹

Things were beginning to look more favorable for the private trader in Rupert's Land. The grim spectre of the Hudson's Bay monopoly began to look less formidable. But the victory was by no means yet. The Princes of Privilege were not to be disposed of so easily. They would still have something to say, even under the new condition of affairs. True, they had lost a great strategic advantage when the position of being the sole market and means of communication with the outside world was wrested from them. They had still, however, two strings to their bow, and they did not hesitate to use them both to the fullest, in their endeavour to maintain the cherished privileges accorded to them by their charter.

In the first place, although as a trading company they could not prohibit this new departure in mercantile affairs, they could, as the government of the country — for such they were — do something to check it. Accordingly, an import duty of 7½% was imposed upon all goods coming into the country by this channel. In the second place, while they had lost that easy supervision that had prevented the illicit export of furs by the Bay route, they could still harass and hamper the independent trader in his southward operations by rigidly enforcing their monopoly in this class of merchandise. This also,

¹ A complete, detailed account of one of these expeditions is given in the Garrioch Journal. The narrative covers 27 foolscap pages and contains about 8,000 words. It makes a story of unique and thrilling interest.

as we shall see, they did to the very best of their ability.

As might be supposed, the first of these regulations raised a storm of indignant protest throughout the Settlement. But the petty merchants and free traders were more particularly incensed. They claimed that, because of the difficulties with which they had to contend on this route, and because of the fact that to them was due the credit of having opened it up, they should not be penalized in this way for the few goods which they were able to bring in. The leaders of the movement, indeed, especially those of the "Metis" or half-blood element, at first flatly refused to comply with the new law. They wrote letters and sent petitions to Mr. Christie, the Company Governor, praying for its repeal. They held indignation meetings; and even went so far, as we have seen above, as to make a physical demonstration and demand for its repeal before the gates of Fort Garry. The Company, however, while carefully avoiding any open conflict, held firm in their position. Mr. Christie, in answer to the petition of the free traders for exemption, returned an equivocal and soothing reply, giving them to understand that, if they should quietly pay the duty then demanded, their request for exemption would meet with favorable consideration. The free traders accordingly capitulated. The tax was paid; but that was the last they heard from the Company about exemption.² Later on, I may say, that under stress of its unpopularity and the continual agitation against it, the Company, while not abolishing, reduced the tariff to 5%. It was still later reduced to 4%, at which figure it remained until the transfer of the country to Canada.

Notwithstanding this restriction, and the failure of the free traders to get the complete exemption which they demanded, the creaking trains of Red River carts still went merrily on their way to St. Peter. American

² A full account of these negotiations is given in the Garrioch MS.

goods of ever increasing bulk and value continued to be brought in from St. Louis, Galena and other towns of the Mississippi Valley. The private importers grew in number and independence; and the Hudson's Bay Company were kept increasingly busy guarding their prerogatives. The one, of course, which gave them the most trouble under these new conditions was that of which they were the most jealous, namely, the exclusive trade in furs.

Under the new condition of things exceptional opportunities were naturally afforded the free trader for illicit dealing in this forbidden commodity. Freed from the supervisory control of the Bay route, with nothing between him and his market but a few leagues of wilderness in which he was perfectly at home, it was an easy matter to secrete valuable furs among his packs of legitimate country produce and steal away with them to the Southern markets. He had to take a good many risks, to be sure, but the prize was worth the game. In the American markets his peltries would bring him several times as much as he could obtain for the same articles from the Hudson's Bay Company. This was smuggling, of course; but that did not lie very heavily on his conscience. It was his conscientious belief that, as a free citizen under the flag, and especially — if he were a "Metis" — as a native of the soil, he had a right to traffic without restraint in whatever the soil afforded. It was no crime, in his opinion, to balk the greed and tyranny of what he considered an unjust and unwarranted monopoly. To his own eyes he appeared as a patriot seeking to vindicate the first principles of free citizenship; and every successful evasion of the unrighteous monopoly was but another step in this direction.

A circumstance which contributed greatly to the success of these illicit enterprises, about this time, was the near approach of American traders from the South. At

Pembina, just south of the International Boundary and only seventy miles from Fort Garry, was the trading establishment of Norman W. Kitson, afterwards familiarly known as "Commodore" Kitson, friend and partner of Jas. J. Hill, the St. Paul magnate. This establishment, the clerk and general factotum of which was the almost equally well known Joe Rollette after whom Rollette County, North Dakota, is named, was the chief receiving place for this contraband merchandise. Here, within easy distance of the Selkirk Settlement and at most satisfactory prices, without having to make the longer journey to the Mississippi at all, the Canadian trader who cared to take the risks could find a ready market for all the peltries which he had to offer. Many were the stealthy pack trains that, at dead of night, avoiding Fort Garry and all beaten trails, stole out of the Red River Settlement with this same Kitson establishment as their objective point.³ And as a result many were the prime beavers, mink, marten, etc., that failed to contribute their quota to the dividends of the Honorable Company at their great annual London sale.

Such clandestine operations, however, were by no means exempt from the pains and penalties that usually beset the pathway of the illicit trader. As stated above, the Hudson's Bay Company had no intention of complacently sitting by and seeing herself deprived of her rightful profits by a little coterie of despised native traders. She was prepared to defend her right to the exclusive trade in furs to the limit of her powers. And she did. A system of vigorous and high handed espionage was adopted, from which the settlers of the

³ In the Garrioch MS., which lies before me, there is a complete narrative account of one of these fur smuggling expeditions to the Kitson establishment. The narrative, which is entitled "Seven Days Experience, and the Pleasures of Smuggling", contains about 10,000 words. It describes a typical expedition in which the author took a prominent part, and throws a flood of light on this feature of the free trade struggle.

little community, as well as the traders, suffered. It sometimes happened that a peaceable and law-abiding settler came into possession of some piece of peltry through his intercourse with the Indians, either as a present or in exchange for farm produce; but woe betide the unlucky individual if a whisper of it came to the ears of the Company. The next thing he knew he was waited upon by a posse of special constables with a Hudson's Bay clerk at their head, the presence of the latter being the sole warrant of their authority. If peaceable admittance was given, well and good. If it wasn't, the door was battered in and a search made of the premises. Every cranny and crevice that could conceal anything was turned inside out. Even the tall clay chimney that formed an indispensable feature of these humble homes was made to yield up its secrets; a stout pole, which invariably formed part of the armament of a deputation of this sort, being used for the purpose. Any piece of fur brought to light in this way, no matter how trifling in value, was carried off in triumph to the Company's headquarters at Fort Garry. Similar deputations under the leadership of Cuthbert Grant, Warden of the Plains, who acted as deputy sheriff to the Governor and Council of Assiniboia, waited, from time to time, on the petty traders with like delicate attentions. Every caravan leaving for the South, the departure of which was known, that might be suspected of having furs, was followed and searched and the forbidden peltries confiscated. Peremptory and high handed seizures came thick and fast in every direction. The Company seemed determined to stamp out, at any hazard, the forbidden traffic.⁴

These high handed proceedings, added to the multitudinous grievances of the past, naturally stirred up a

⁴ That portion of the Garrioch Journal covering the years 1845-1846 throws much new light on this feature of the struggle.

feeling of resentment and opposition among all classes of the people. The French "Metis", indeed, had for some time been hovering on the verge of open rebellion. Now the English speaking "Metis", who had previously held aloof, threw in their lot and made common cause with their more turbulent friends of semi-Gallic extraction. It was felt by both elements that the limit had been reached beyond which passive endurance could not reasonably be expected to go. Furthermore, they were unitedly determined that the tyrannous monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company should be brought to an end; and, if this result could not be brought about by constitutional means, they were ready to try what unconstitutional means could do.

A movement participated in by both elements, was now set on foot, to have the home government interfere and cancel the charter. Largely signed petitions⁵ were circulated by the friends of free trade throughout the Settlement, the population of which was, at this time, about 5,000. These, with other correspondence setting forth the intolerable nature of the Company's rule, were forwarded to Earl Grey, the Colonial Secretary, through a Mr. Isbister, a native of the Settlement who had graduated from one of the British universities and had attained to considerable distinction as an educationist in London. From one cause or another, however, the result of these petitions and correspondence was practically nil, so far as any visible advantage to the settlers was concerned. Instead of sending redress of their grievances the British government sent a regiment of soldiers. In the autumn of 1846, a detachment of the 6th Royals, about 400 strong, with nine field pieces, were stationed at Fort

⁵ Under date of May 28, 1846, Garrioch has the following entry in his Journal, "Went about today for signatures to be presented to her Majesty, Queen Victoria. I added 80 signatures to said petition." This particular petition contained about 1,000 names.

Garry; and, when these were withdrawn, some two years later, a brigade of pensioners, 170 in number, were sent to take their place.⁶

The coming of the British regulars put a quietus to the disaffection of the Colonists for the time being. But no sooner were they withdrawn than the smouldering fires of rebellion burst forth fiercer than ever. An incident happened about this time which, in the tense state of popular feeling, acted like a spark upon gunpowder, and the explosion that resulted practically shattered forever the cherished monopoly of the Company.

In the spring of 1849 a French "Metis", Guillaume Sayer by name, and three companions were arrested for receiving furs from the Indians in exchange for merchandise contrary to the law. Sayer himself was thrown into prison to await his trial, the other three offenders being allowed out on bail. As time wore on, rumors began to circulate through the Settlement to the effect that the French "Metis" were going to prevent the infliction of punishment upon their countrymen by armed force, if necessary. As the day of the trial approached the excitement became intense. The date fixed for the event, May 17th, proved to be an unfortunate one for the Company. Being Ascension Day that year, the "Metis", who were all devout Catholics, regarded its selection as an intentional affront to their religion. The trial magistrate, too, Judge Thom, being a well known Francophobe and withal a salaried appointee of the Company, was hardly *persona grata* with the element most immediately concerned in the approaching proceedings.

Early on the morning of the 17th, bands of armed "Metis" from the surrounding French settlements began

⁶ It is not exactly clear what the British government had in mind when these troops were sent out. The Oregon boundary dispute was in progress at that time, threatening to involve the two countries in war, and this probably had something to do with it.

flocking into the neighborhood of Fort Garry. On the opposite side of the river from the Fort where the court-house stood in which the trial was to take place, was the Roman Catholic mission of St. Boniface; and to this point, where the day was being suitably observed by the saying of mass, they made their way. The service over, once more under the open sky, they were addressed in a fiery harangue by Louis Riel, father of the rebel chief of that name who later was the instigator of two rebellions in the Canadian West.

As the hour set for the opening of the trial approached, these men, to the number of several hundred, fully armed and showing determination in their every move, crossed over to Fort Garry and took up their positions around the little building used as a court-house. There was no noise, no disturbance, nothing unruly in their deportment, but there was something infinitely more impressive. There was the calm that forebodes a storm.

At last the fateful hour arrived. The chief officials of the Company were present. The constables and magistrates were in attendance. The Judge took his seat on the bench, and the prisoner was brought in. The leaders of the "Metis" with their following crowded the space reserved for the public. The trial was on. And now ensued a curious scene.

Up to this time, as already stated, everything had been quiet and orderly. No attempt had been made to free the prisoner or to interfere in any way with the course of the law. Now it was as if pandemonium had broken loose. The magistrates and Company officials vigorously protested against the show of armed force. Riel, the hot headed agitator of the "Metis", got mixed up in a loud-voiced altercation with the Judge on the bench; the latter dignitary contending for the sovereignty of the law and the Hudson's Bay Company and the fiery Riel proclaiming in equally unequivocal and emphatic

terms the principles of freedom and the rights of the "Metis". They ("the Metis"), he declared, would give the court one hour to find its verdict, and, if within that time justice was not done, they would take the law into their own hands. "Et je declare," concluded he amid the vociferous plaudits of his following, "que de ce moment Sayer est libre!" "I declare that, from this moment, Sayer is free!"

When this first stormy outburst had subsided, and order had in a measure been restored, it was quite patent to the dullest mind that the game was up for the Hudson's Bay. For a number of years past, they had been playing a bold game of bluff, backed up by the authority of their Charter. Now the bluff was called and they found themselves impotent to enforce their position. Some talk, it is true, there had been, before the trial came off, of calling out the Pensioners, who were still in the Settlement, to meet force with force; but that might have meant civil war. But civil war would have meant publicity and an investigation; and the Hudson's Bay Company would rather have had anything than that. Now they found themselves on the horns of a dilemma that threatened to spell humiliation and loss of power no matter which side they chose. If they proceeded with the trial and secured a conviction, which they could not help doing since the facts were open and admitted, it would mean armed resistance and defiance of their authority. If, on the other hand, they dismissed the case or found the prisoner not guilty, that would be tantamount to a formal relinquishment of their monopoly. Whichever way they turned they found themselves in an embarrassed position. To "save their face", as John Chinaman would say, they were compelled to choose a middle course. As soon as the tumult had sufficiently subsided the trial proceeded in the regular way, whereupon it was brought out in examination that the pris-

oner had obtained, from a minor official of the Company, a verbal permission, to trade in furs; and upon this pretext the case was dismissed. The trial of the other three culprits was never held.

Again the Honorable Company had shown its wisdom by avoiding a doubtful issue. But this time its wisdom was a little tardy; the damage had already been done. The whole fiasco was too apparent. There could be but one deduction drawn from the proceedings, and that was that the obnoxious monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company was a thing of the past. The disinterested spectator from the Settlement saw it. The English-speaking "Metis" saw it and inwardly rejoiced. The French "Metis" recognized it; and, with characteristic Gallic impulsiveness, proclaimed it on the spot. They rushed from the building crying, "*Le commerce est libre! Le commerce est libre! Vive la liberte!*" while those already without fired off their guns and shouted themselves hoarse in celebration of the victory. Thus was won the fight for free trade in Rupert's Land.

From that time on the chartered monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company was practically a dead letter. The end of their long rule in Western Canada was in sight. Five years later, the people of the Red River Settlement, having failed in their efforts to obtain relief from the Imperial authorities, addressed themselves by petition to the Government of Canada. Other Canadian interests — commercial and otherwise — seconded the appeal, with the result that negotiations were soon in progress between the Canadian and Imperial governments for the extinction of the Hudson's Bay title and the opening up of the country to commerce and settlement. This was in 1869, when Rupert's Land became a part of the Dominion. The Hudson's Bay Company, at that time, stepped down and out, and free trade

and equality of rights became the order of the day throughout her former territories.

AUTHOR'S NOTE:—In the preparation of the foregoing article, I have consulted Ross, Gunn, Hargrave, Begg, Bryce, and other standard authorities, both original and secondary. For the bulk of my material, however, I have depended a good deal upon the testimony of a number of aged eye-witnesses of the principal events, whom I have known for many years. For the facts falling within the period 1843-1847, I have depended almost entirely upon the Garrioch Journal, a manuscript diary of 137 closely written foolscap pages kept by Peter Garrioch, one of the leading men of the Free Trade Movement. This Journal, which has never been published, it was my good fortune to discover a short time ago; and the manuscript, which is a veritable mine of wealth on this topic, lies before me as I write.

EARLY FORTS ON THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI

BY DAN ELBERT CLARK

The glamour of romance will ever linger around the far western outposts of New France in America. The dream of the brave La Salle of a chain of French forts extending from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico was never fully realized, for France gave but meager support to her colonists in the New World. But many intrepid explorers and traders are connected with such rude stockades as were established in the Illinois country and up and down the entire length of the Mississippi River. For several generations these frontier forts were instrumental in retaining for New France the respect of savage tribes, and they were the centers of a vast and profitable fur trade. It is the purpose of this paper to trace briefly the history of the French forts on the upper Mississippi.¹

As is the case with other phases of French exploration and settlement in the West, it is often impossible to do more than conjecture, owing to the fragmentary character of the records. The writer, therefore, has merely endeavored to state the most reliable facts concerning these early forts, the very existence of which in some cases has been disputed.

It seems probable that La Salle was responsible for the first French establishment on the upper Mississippi as early as the year 1682. In a letter written from Fort Frontenac on August 22, 1682, he makes complaint of the

¹ For the purposes of this paper the upper Mississippi has been considered to be that part of the river north of the mouth of the Wisconsin River, with the exception of the discussion of Perrot's fort opposite the lead mines.

operations of DuLuth in the country in which he (La Salle) had been granted exclusive trading privileges. For, he says, "if they go by way of the Ouisconsing, where for the present the Chase of the buffalo is carried on, and where I have commenced an establishment, they will ruin the trade of which alone I am laying the foundation on account of the great number of buffaloes which are taken there every year, almost beyond belief."² Still later in the same letter, in describing the captivity of Accault and Hennepin among the Sioux Indians, La Salle makes a further allusion to his post on the Wisconsin River. "Six weeks afterward," he says, "all having returned to the Ouisconsing with the Nadouesieux on a hunt, the R. P. Louis Hennepin and the Picard resolved to go to the mouth of the river where I had promised to send messages, as I had done by six men, whom the Jesuits deceived, telling them that the R. P. Louis and his fellow travelers had been slain."³

Piecing these two statements together it would seem that the establishment to which La Salle refers was at the mouth of the Wisconsin and therefore on the Mississippi. Moreover, it is altogether reasonable to suppose that it was located at the present site of Prairie du Chien, since subsequent experience demonstrated the fact that no other locality in the immediate vicinity was so well fitted for the Indian trade. Thus, while La Salle's post perhaps does not deserve the appellation of a fort, it may well be noticed in a discussion of the early French forts on the upper Mississippi.

² Margry's *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, Vol. II, p. 254.

³ Margry's *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, Vol. II, p. 257. Hennepin also mentions the promise of La Salle to send messengers with supplies to the mouth of the Wisconsin River.—See Hennepin's *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America* (Thwaites edition, 1903), Vol. I, pp. 271, 277, 285.

It was only three years later, or in 1685, that the experienced trader and Indian agent, Nicholas Perrot, was sent to the upper Mississippi region as "Commandant of the West". And it would seem that he immediately set about the establishment of the series of rough log forts which have been the subject of so much dispute. No doubt coming out to Green Bay by the now reasonably familiar route of the Ottawa River, Lake Nipissing, Georgian Bay, and the Straits of Mackinac, he pushed on to the Mississippi by the convenient Fox-Wisconsin waterway. Ascending the broad river he built a rude stockade and prepared to spend the winter of 1685-1686 on the eastern bank in the vicinity of where now stands the picturesque village of Trempealeau. The exact spot on which Perrot's establishment was located may perhaps never be definitely determined, but here amid scenes of rare beauty he spent the long winter months bargaining with the neighboring Sioux for rich furs and peltries.⁴

With the coming of spring and the opening of the river Perrot apparently left his post at Trempealeau, and sometime within the next few years he established two other forts further up the Mississippi River on the broad expanse known as Lake Pepin. On the western bank of the river at the southern end of the lake he erected a post named Fort Perrot in his own honor. The date of the establishment of this fort has been the subject of much disagreement. Some writers claim that it was erected in 1686 following the breaking of winter quarters at the post near Trempealeau. Others, however, maintain that this theory is discountenanced by the fact that Fort Perrot is not mentioned on Franquelin's great map of 1688, although other posts estab-

⁴ For discussions of this post see Draper's *Early French Forts in Western Wisconsin* in the *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol. X, pp. 366-368; and Thwaites's *Wisconsin*, pp. 63, 64.

lished by Perrot are located, and that therefore it must have been built after 1688.⁵

How long Fort Perrot was maintained or used as a trading point is also uncertain. But it was still in existence in 1700 when Le Sueur made his voyage up the Mississippi,⁶ and the name clung to the locality for many years afterward.

More definite conclusions can be reached relative to Fort St. Antoine, Perrot's second post on Lake Pepin. This fort was located on the eastern shore of the lake, toward the northern end and about two miles south of what is now the little town of Stockholm in Pepin County, Wisconsin. It must have been built as early as 1688, for it is clearly located on Franquelin's map of that year.⁷ Furthermore, it was at Fort St. Antoine on May 8, 1689, that Nicholas Perrot took formal possession of the upper Mississippi Valley in the name of the king of France.⁸

The locality of this fort, which would seem to be the most easily determined of any of Perrot's posts, has not escaped, however, without some question. Mr. C. W. Butterfield, who endeavors to discredit Franquelin's map at every possible point, says "Fort St. Anthony (Antoine) is put down by him as on the east bank of the

⁵ For various theories as to the date of the establishment of Fort Perrot see Draper's *Early French Forts in Western Wisconsin* in the *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol. X, p. 358; Neill's *Early French Forts and Footprints of the Valley of the Upper Mississippi* in the *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, Vol. II, p. 90; Parkman's *A Half Century of Conflict* (Little, Brown & Co., 1892), Vol. II, p. 6; and Thwaites's *Wisconsin*, p. 64.

⁶ *Relation de Pénicaut* in Margry's *Découvertes et Établissement des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, Vol. V, p. 413.

⁷ For a good print of Franquelin's map see Winchell's *Historical Sketch of Explorations and Surveys in Minnesota*, map opposite p. 4. This, of course, was Franquelin's revised map of 1688.

⁸ *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. IX, p. 418.

Mississippi; just below Lake Pepin, when it was actually at the head of Green Bay." ⁹ But the evidence, including Perrot's *proces verbal* of May 8, 1689, itself, ¹⁰ is all against such an extravagant claim.

Perrot's activities did not end with the establishment of the posts at Trempealeau and on Lake Pepin. Sometime between the years 1685 and 1688 he built a fort, named St. Nicholas in honor of his patron saint, at the mouth of the Wisconsin River where Prairie du Chien now stands. It is possible that he erected this fort when he first came to the Mississippi Valley as "Commandant of the West" in 1685. At any rate the post was in existence in 1688 when the king's hydrographer, Franquelin, drew his famous map, for on that map Fort St. Nicholas, like Fort St. Antoine, is clearly located. ¹¹ And in his *proces verbal* of May 8, 1689, Perrot speaks of Bois-Guillot as "commanding the French in the neighborhood of the Wisconsin, on the Mississippi", ¹² evidently referring to Fort St. Nicholas.

Many words have been wasted in the dispute over the exact locality of this post. For instance, Mr. Butterfield, who has already been mentioned as attempting to impeach the credibility of Franquelin with respect to Fort St. Antoine, has also made an effort to prove that Fort St. Nicholas was not where Franquelin located it. Basing his argument on statements by La Potherie and on Indian tradition he would make it appear that, instead of being north of the Wisconsin and east of the Mississippi, the post was on the western bank of the Mis-

⁹ Butterfield's *French Fort at Prairie du Chien a Myth* in the *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol. X, p. 311.

¹⁰ *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. IX, p. 418.

¹¹ Winehell's *Historical Sketch of Explorations and Surveys in Minnesota*, map opposite p. 4.

¹² *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. IX, p. 418.

issippi in the present State of Iowa and about twelve miles below Prairie du Chien.¹³ This claim, however, as Dr. Draper shows, is contrary to the evidence not only of the most reliable early cartographers and writers, but also of the subsequent use of the locality of Prairie du Chien as the most favorable spot in the vicinity for carrying on the Indian trade.¹⁴

It is quite possible that Fort St. Nicholas was abandoned when Perrot left the upper Mississippi in 1692 to take up his work among the Miami. At the same time it may have been occupied periodically for many years by French traders and trappers. In Penicaut's relation of his voyage up the Mississippi in 1700, however, no mention is made of the fort, and on a number of the maps of the period it is marked "destroyed".

One further fort seems to have been built by Perrot and, as in the case of the posts already mentioned, there is divergence of opinion as to its exact locality. Moreover, no name has been attached to this post, so far as the writer has been able to discover.

In the year 1690 Perrot returned to the Mississippi region after having led his contingent of western savages to the aid of the French in the campaign against the Iroquois. At this time, according to La Potherie, he was met by a deputation from the Miami Indians, who were then living on the eastern side of the Mississippi about twenty-four leagues below the mouth of the Wisconsin River. During the course of the conference a Miami chief made Perrot "a present of a piece of ore which came from a very rich Lead Mine, which he had found on the bank of a stream which empties into the Mississippi", and in response to a request Perrot "promised

¹³ Butterfield's *French Fort at Prairie du Chien a Myth* in the *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol. X, pp. 307-313.

¹⁴ Draper's *Early French Forts in Western Wisconsin* in the *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol. X, pp. 323-330.

them that he would within twenty days establish a post below the Ouiskonche river".¹⁵

It is generally accepted that the lead mines referred to by the Miami chief were about twenty leagues below the mouth of the Wisconsin.¹⁶ Thus they may have been some of the mines in the vicinity of Galena, or what is more probable, the lead mines later worked by Julien Dubuque near the site of the present city of Dubuque, Iowa. In either case the fort seems to have been built on the Mississippi opposite the lead mines, and according to La Potherie, it "was located below the Ouiskonche, in a place very advantageously situated for security from attacks by the neighboring tribes."¹⁷ On either bank of the river at the point indicated may be found a spot answering the description given by La Potherie. Thus Perrot's fort may have been located either on the Illinois side near the site of Dunleith or on the Iowa side not far from the present city of Dubuque, with the preponderance of opinion in favor of the former locality.¹⁸

Those writers who believe that Perrot's post opposite the lead mines was located, as some say, near the mouth of the Des Moines River,¹⁹ or as is claimed by others, twenty-one leagues above the Des Moines River,²⁰ have little to support their views. In the first place no lead mines have been known in either of the regions indicated. And in the second place the Miamis were then

¹⁵ La Potherie's *Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, Vol. II, p. 251.

¹⁶ See *Relation de Pénicaut* in Margry's *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, Vol. V, p. 412.

¹⁷ La Potherie's *Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, Vol. II, p. 260.

¹⁸ For a good discussion of this fort see Draper's *Early French Forts in Western Wisconsin* in the *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol. X, pp. 330-333.

¹⁹ For instance see statement by the editor in the *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. IX, p. 626.

²⁰ See biographical sketch of Perrot in *The Historical Magazine* (edited by John G. Shea), Vol. IX, pp. 207, 208.

living much further up the Mississippi, and it is not reasonable to suppose that they would request the establishment of a trading post at such a great distance from their dwelling place.

While Nicholas Perrot is preëminently the builder of forts on the upper Mississippi during the period of French control, there were other Frenchmen who established posts on the upper course of the river. One of these was Pierre Charles Le Sueur, a cotemporary and friend of Perrot. In the year 1693, or soon afterward, while Le Sueur was commandant at Chequamegon Bay, it is said that he established two fortified posts, both intended to keep in check the periodically hostile Sioux and to protect the French trade in that region.²¹ The evidence concerning one of these posts, namely the one said to have been erected on Madeline Island in Chequamegon Bay is outside the scope of the present discussion. In fact there is no mention of this post in the account of Le Sueur's later voyage up the Mississippi.

There can be no doubt of the authenticity of a fort erected by Le Sueur on the upper Mississippi. This post was located on Prairie Island, the largest island in the Mississippi between Lake Pepin and the St. Croix, and opposite the present town of Red Wing. It is probable that this post was occupied by French traders as occasion required for several years. But Le Sueur soon left the upper Mississippi and did not return until in 1700, and while the account of his voyage of that year mentions his arrival at the post at Prairie Island, there is no evidence that he made any further personal use of it.²²

²¹ *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol. XVI, p. 173.

²² *Relation of Pénicaut in Margry's Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, Vol. V, p. 413.

A period of more than twenty years, as far as the records show, now elapsed before the French established another post on the upper Mississippi. But this time something of a more permanent character was accomplished, and the undertaking received more serious attention from the authorities at Quebec.

In 1727 there was prospect of a cessation of the Indian hostilities which for many years had made it extremely difficult to carry on the trade of the upper Mississippi region. Consequently a trading company was formed to establish a post among the Sioux,²³ and at the same time it was determined on the part of the government that a commandant and two Jesuit missionaries should be sent to the proposed post. René Boucher, Sieur de la Perriere²⁴ was the man chosen as commandant, and Father Michel Guignas and a companion were the Jesuits selected.

After careful preparations the party departed from Montreal on June 16, 1727, and by the twenty-second of July they had reached Michilimakinac. August 8th saw them at Green Bay, and finally after threading their way over the Fox-Wisconsin route they entered the Mississippi and reached Lake Pepin on September 17th. The spot chosen for the fort was a sandy point of land on the western shore of the lake, opposite Maiden's Rock. "The day after landing", reads the narrative of the expedition as written by Father Guignas, "axes were applied to the trees and four days later the fort was entirely finished. It is a plat of ground a hundred feet square surrounded by stakes twelve feet high with two good bastions. For such a small space there are large build-

²³ See *Articles of the Trading Company for the Post among the Sioux* in the *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol. XVII, pp. 10-15.

²⁴ *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol. XVII, p. 16.

ings, detached and not crowded, each 30, 38 and 25 feet long by 16 feet wide."²⁵ The post was named Fort Beauharnois in honor of the Governor of New France.

There was heavy work to be done by the members of the party during the weeks which followed their arrival at Lake Pepin. But apparently there were moments of relaxation, and it is probable that in the following extract from the relation of Father Guignas may be found a description of the earliest display of fireworks on the upper Mississippi River:

"After having wandered about the country for some time everybody returned to the fort, and only thought of enjoying for a little the fruits of their labors. On the 4th of the month of November it was not forgotten that this was the fête day of Monsieur the General. Holy Mass was said for him in the morning, and we were much inclined to celebrate the holiday in the evening; but the slowness of the Pyrotechnist, and the changeableness of the weather caused the celebration to be postponed until the 14th of the same month, when some very fine rockets were fired off and the air was made to resound with a hundred shouts of 'Long live the King,' and 'Long live Charles de Beauharnois.' It was on this occasion that the wine of the Sioux was made to flow, and it was most excellent, although there are no finer wines here than in Canada. What contributed much to the amusement was the terror of some cabins of Indians who were then around the fort. When these poor people saw the fireworks in the air and the stars falling from heaven, women and children took to flight, and the most courageous of the men cried for mercy, and urgently asked that the astonishing play of this terrible medicine should be made to cease."²⁶

²⁵ *Relation of Father Guignas in the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol. XVII, p. 26.

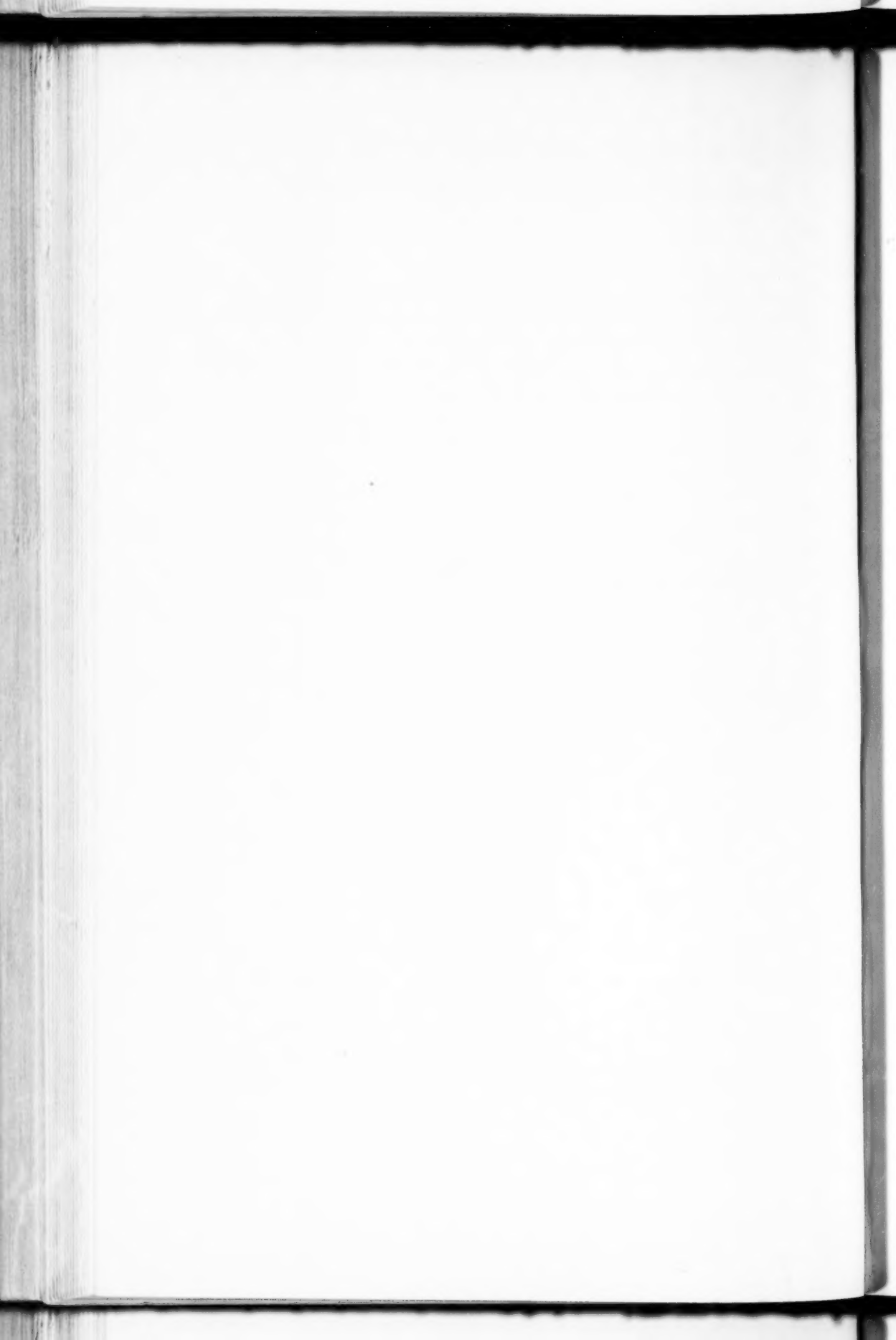
²⁶ *Relation of Father Guignas in the Collections of the State Histor-*

Fort Beauharnois had a checkered history. Within two years after its establishment the threatening attitude of the Sioux caused its abandonment. After three or four years it was again occupied for a short period. And it was finally rebuilt in 1750, but six years later its garrison was withdrawn to aid in the last desperate contest with England for supremacy in America.²⁷

With this brief sketch of the establishment and history of Fort Beauharnois closes the outline discussion of the early forts on the upper Mississippi. So far as can be discovered no further effort was made to establish French power on the upper courses of the river which Frenchmen were the first to thoroughly explore.

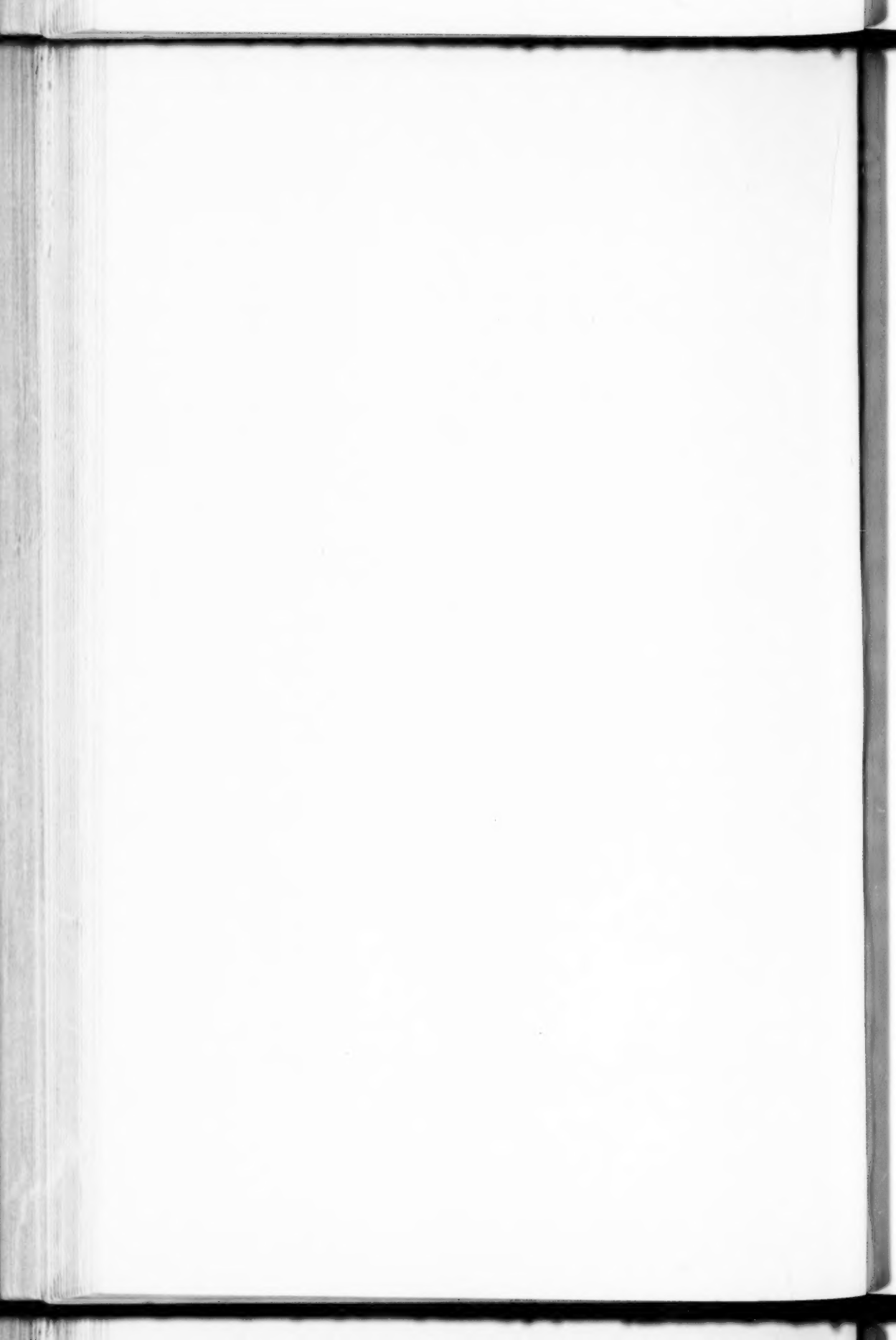
ical Society of Wisconsin, Vol. XVII, pp. 26, 27. See also Shea's *Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi*, pp. 173, 174.

²⁷ For documentary material relative to Fort Beauharnois see the *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol. XVII.



PAPERS AND ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT THE
FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MISSIS-
SIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION

(Evanston and Chicago, Illinois, May 18, 19, 20, 1911)



ADDRESS OF WELCOME

BY THOMAS DENT

The distinguished name of the body which is to meet here this afternoon corresponds with, or in a measure presages, the importance of its objects. The Mississippi Valley is great in its outlines, its stretch of territory, its general position or situation, and richness of resources. The members of the Association have much to do in the way of research, and in the preservation and recording of the truths of history, as to the land and the inhabitants of the same, especially in the past, as also in the present. All hail and success to the earnest and faithful laborers in so fruitful a vineyard! The Chicago Historical Society is pleased to lean on the arm of this younger sister, and to extend a cordial welcome to its workers, co-workers may I not say? The name of Dr. O. L. Schmidt is on the program to take the part which has fallen to me through his gentle conscription. I did not ask for his speech, but you may rest assured that it would have conveyed a very warm and hearty welcome. I give place accordingly to Prof. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, who is to preside.

MYTHS OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS
AS MATERIAL FOR SUPPLEMENTARY READING
IN OUR SECONDARY SCHOOLS

BY ORIN G. LIBBY

Many of us recall that, at the St. Louis meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, James Mooney, speaking for the Bureau of Ethnology, told us of a series of manuals in projection by the Bureau, which were designed to cover the Indian period in the history of each State in the Union. These manuals were to be prepared in response to a growing conviction among historians as to their necessity in furnishing a scientific basis for the proper presentation of any State history.

But if the archaeological and ethnological foundation is a necessary preliminary to what has formerly been considered complete local history, it is possible to make a still wider application of the same truth. Is it not a logical conclusion to hold that no general history of the United States, Canada, or any other important State in North America should receive rank for text or reference purposes, unless it contains a carefully written presentation of the primitive civilization upon which or alongside of which our own has developed? This is an important pedagogical as well as historical consideration. Our history has been presented and taught inadequately from a lack of properly constructed text books, and if a knowledge of this primitive life does lie at the beginning of a clear understanding of State history, it certainly has a place in a preliminary chapter in our national history. When this position comes to be assumed by our teachers and by the writers of texts and reference works, the pub-

lishers will know what to do. To be sure, we can not expect a publishing house to take any but a purely commercial interest in book-making. It is *our* special function to determine the content of the works that take shape as business ventures. We may be indifferent or negligent, we may suffer purely business considerations to vitiate the clarity and accuracy of the book for which we are responsible, but our function is none the less distinct and important and our responsibility to the public is unmistakable.

The subject in hand was forcibly brought to the writer's attention by a recent experience in telling portions of two story cycles of Hidatsa and Mandan origin to each of the grades from the first to the eighth in one of the ward schools of our city. With slight alterations to adapt the stories to the varying ages, there was not one of the many groups which listened to the narrative (a total of over 1,000 pupils) that did not manifest a lively interest and a thorough appreciation of them. As a story telling performance, it was a complete success. From the pedagogical point of view, it was equally significant, the comments of the teachers and the writer's own observations both pointing to the same conclusion.

Historically considered, the mythology of any Indian tribe or clan represents the evolution of their civilization, the salient features of their origin and history, their legal and moral codes, their social observances, and family, clan or tribal customs, and their religious beliefs and practices. More than this, it embodies their only literary expression of the emotional life of the race, the tribe or of the individual. Whatever sentiments they may feel, what passions may stir them, the play of fancy, the pride of race, their characteristic wit and humor, their convictions, aspirations, and higher reaches of thought are to be found here and here only in permanent form. Like the Greek, the Roman and the Scandinavian mythol-

ogies, all shades and varieties of human feeling find expression in the Indian mythology. Its range is quite as varied as any, and if the language is not as beautiful as the Greek, it is fully as picturesque, and always vividly realistic. More than all else, it is an indigenous product, a genuine outgrowth of American life in a purely local environment at a time when man was first learning how to struggle successfully with nature and how to translate his experience into human speech for perpetuation in the linguistic and literary records of his tribe.

From a purely theoretical standpoint, there can be no doubt as to the value of such stories for supplementary reading in the grades. It is a part of the great field of mythology which has already been generally accepted as one of the chief sources for such material. It has intimate connections, too, with the field of nature study, in which the American Indian was, indeed, most at home, and from which were drawn all of his figures of speech and most of the picturesque variety of his tales. The intimate relations of men with the animals of the woods and plain, of the air and water, such as are so well told in those two classics, Kipling's *Jungle Books* and the *Uncle Remus' Stories*, fill the Indian mythological tales with that charm of the wildwood which is altogether irresistible. For these two reasons, therefore, this material is well adapted for supplementary reading in the secondary schools, combining as it does the essential characteristics of the wonder tales of every nation and the manifold attractions of outdoor life. It does not detract from their value to add, that these stories have nothing in common with the tale of that make-believe savage, Longfellow's *Hiawatha*, or that of the "noble red men" of other less used classics of the same vapid type. The highly moral drawing-room type of the American Indian, whose portraiture pleased our ancestors, has ceased to appeal to our own generation of

outdoor boys and girls. They demand reality, naturalness, accuracy, and they will have it whether their elders will or no.

There are some difficulties connected with the satisfactory rendering of these inimitable tales into English. In the first place there is the barrier of language, — the Indian speech is agglutinative, ours highly inflectional, and we are thus separated by an unbridged chasm of speech evolution, across which words do not easily pass. To one who has not attempted a translation, the difficulty is not at first apparent. A typical Indian story as told by one of their old men is punctuated by untrammelled gesture, enlivened by the ever changing play of the facial expression, and interspersed by songs, dances, and changes of posture, while through it all runs the music of speech, playing the whole gamut of human emotions in an atmosphere surcharged with the tense feelings of a sympathetic audience. A mere literal translation is, of course, out of the question; and while the English language is a wonderfully adaptable instrument in skillful hands, it must be put to its utmost to tell the story truly as it flows from the lips of a trained Indian story teller. Here is a new and unworked field for genuine creative effort, for loving, patriotic service in behalf of national literature. And since such stories are essentially dramatic, they may be effectively staged with appropriate music and this with comparatively little effort, thus doing double duty in the round of school exercises.

In still another line these stories may be made to serve excellently as an incentive to better work. We hear much nowadays of the use of drawing as a means of expression, the training of which will increase the child's power of attention and stimulate his creative capacity. One of the most characteristic features of the Indian story is its vivid concreteness. Both the narrator and the listener must continually visualize the objects and

scenes described or lose half the import of the tale. As drawing exercises, therefore, with such a wealth of illustration, this form of supplementary reading can be made a never failing source of interest.

One of the difficult practical problems to solve in connection with securing such supplementary reading is the form of the publication. A publisher can easily be secured but the usual publishing house has distinct limitations in the satisfactory handling of this material. While we should be perfectly willing to trust any such firm to prepare a revised edition of Longfellow's *Hiawatha* or Hawthorne's *Wonder Book*, the rendering into adequate English of any of the half-dozen cycles of Indian stories known to the writer is quite another matter. The usual forms and rules which apply to the conventional work of a staff of ordinary or even talented compilers have little to do with the editing and publishing of a genuine piece of American mythology. The writer has seen a few of these desiccated specimens of publisher's art and they are not of such a nature as to tempt him any further. As a purely commercial venture, moreover, the publication of our Indian stories will, at the outset, hardly bring the immediate per cent of profit required by the average business house. It must first be undertaken, therefore, from the standpoint of local pride, and as a labor of love. It is a task that may well be undertaken by local or State historical societies, both from their command of abundant material and from the nature of the services rendered by their officers and contributors.

It may not be out of place in this connection to refer to a few of the story cycles available for publication. The Ojibways have a very remarkable series in the stories told of We-sa-kā'-jak, Man-i-boo'-zhoo or Nan'-i-poosh, as he is variously styled. The story covers the territory occupied by this tribe from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Rocky Mountains, and is a remarkable repository of

all that relates to the tribe. There are also stories among many tribes relating to the creation of the earth and its inhabitants, and of the flood that destroyed the earth's population. The Hidatsa have a cycle dealing with their tribal guardian, somewhat like that of the Ojibways. The historic Mandans have one rather remarkable story that our Society has been able to publish entire in its last volume. Others of equal value are current among the same tribe and are being brought into form suitable for publication as rapidly as possible. The certain extinction of most of the Indians within the next generation, and the fact that their stories are as yet merely oral traditions among them, lays upon us a task calling for immediate attention, if these beautiful and unique forms of American literature are to be preserved from total loss. It is a fortunate circumstance that the American schoolmaster is as little under the influence of pure convention as any in the world. This readiness to make use of anything good, coupled with the labors of a very considerable body of enthusiasts who are anxious to preserve the Indian mythology from extinction, will, it is quite certain, result at no distant time in the appearance of a respectable body of material drawn from these sources, which can be used successfully as supplementary reading in our secondary schools.

SOME NOTES ON THE FORT DEARBORN MASSACRE

BY MILO MILTON QUAlFE

Among the dread tragedies which darken the annals of Chicago, the Fort Dearborn massacre stands easily preëminent. For Chicagoans of succeeding generations it has always possessed a peculiar fascination. Yet, after the lapse of practically a century, the facts concerning but few events in American history are more generally misunderstood or more commonly misrepresented. To indicate some of these errors and to show the reason for their existence, is the purpose of this paper.

With the massacre, Chicago, considered as a place of habitation for white men, ceased for a time to exist. Those among its inhabitants whose bones were not left to bleach upon the sandy lake shore were scattered far and wide, most of them consigned to a painful captivity from which, for many, death offered the only avenue of escape. A considerable number drifted back in time to civilization, but few of them took the trouble to record their knowledge of the massacre, or, if so, to put their record before the public. Thus it came to pass that the first generation of Chicagoans, after the founding of the modern city in the early thirties, knew almost nothing about the Fort Dearborn massacre. During the last half century various historical workers have been gleaning in this field and garnering up whatever they have found pertaining to the massacre, until it has become possible to know a great deal about it. But the work of critically examining and properly correlating this information yet awaits the hand of the historian.

Paradoxically enough, the progress of this work has been retarded by the appearance, comparatively early, of what purported to be a comprehensive account, based upon the information of eye witnesses, of the events culminating in the massacre. Put forth at first anonymously in pamphlet form in 1844, this narrative reappeared twelve years later as a part of Mrs. John H. Kinzie's fanciful history, *Wau Bun, or The Early Day in the Northwest*. Whatever may have been the design of the author in writing this work, by the reading public it was accepted as sober and authentic history. The rude frontier fort had already given place to a bustling city whose visions of future destiny were as dazzling as its surroundings at the time were crude and uncouth. Already its citizens had become inspired with a desire for knowledge of the events of the past. If there was anyone who knew the facts concerning the massacre, certainly no one had put such knowledge in print. Upon this sea of darkness, historically speaking, suddenly burst the light of Mrs. Kinzie's narrative. On a subject concerning which all others were ignorant, it spoke with precision and with an air of authority. It was hailed with general acclaim, and from its appearance until the present moment it has been freely quoted and more frequently paraphrased. For long accepted without the slightest criticism or question, it has constituted the foundation, and usually the superstructure as well, of almost all that has been written upon the subject of the Fort Dearborn massacre. Sober historians and fanciful novelists alike have made it the quarry from which to draw the material for their narratives. To mention the names of only a few of the former class, from Brown, who almost immediately appropriated it for his *History of Illinois*, much to Mrs. Kinzie's disgust, through Albach, Lossing, Wentworth, Blanchard, Andreas, Moses, and Kirkland, all have been obsessed with the Kinzie narrative. Says Moses

in his *Illinois*, published in 1889: "Without exception, historians have relied for their facts in regard to the massacre . . . upon the account given of the event by Mrs. Juliette A. Kinzie"; and, although he points out the possibility of an undue criticism of Captain Heald, he concludes that "the statements in Mrs. Kinzie's narrative bear upon their face the appearance of truth and fairness"; and in his own history, he follows the example of his predecessors, drawing chiefly from Mrs. Kinzie's *Wau Bun* in making up his account of the massacre.

In thus showing the general belief of later historians in the validity of Mrs. Kinzie's narrative of the massacre, I am not unmindful of the fact that in recent years a few have ventured to criticise or cast doubt upon it. Two workers in the field of local history, Carl Dilg and W. R. Head, repudiated it entirely; but both of these men betray a feeling of prejudice in the matter altogether unbecoming to the careful historian; of more importance, neither of these ever published his work; and that of the former alone is accessible to the student, even in manuscript. Two others, Hurlbut and Kirkland, have published histories which criticise to some extent Mrs. Kinzie's narrative;¹ but Hurlbut makes no attempt to reconstruct the story of the massacre; while Kirkland, thoroughly unscientific in his methods, believes implicitly in the good faith of Mrs. Kinzie,² accepts in the main her account, and devotes himself to the vain attempt to harmonize the Darius Heald narrative, received from his mother, the wife of Captain Heald, with it. So that the statement³ made by Dr. Thwaites in 1901 that Mrs. Kinzie's narrative of the massacre "has been accepted by the historians of Illinois as substantially accurate, and

¹ Hurlbut's *Chicago Antiquities*; Kirkland's *The Chicago Massacre*.

² *History of Chicago*, Vol. I, p. 53.

³ Kinzie's *Wau Bun* (Caxton Club Edition), introduction, p. xix.

other existing accounts are generally based upon this [it]", still stands as entirely correct.

A critical examination of Mrs. Kinzie's story is, then, an essential preliminary to any study of the Chicago massacre. The author was born at Middletown, Connecticut, in September, 1806. She possessed excellent family and social connections, and seems to have enjoyed educational advantages unusual for girls of her generation. Her uncle, Dr. Alexander Wolcott, Jr., who was for a time Government Indian Agent at Chicago, having married Ellen Marion Kinzie, she became acquainted with the latter's brother, John Harris Kinzie, and in August, 1830,⁴ the couple were married in her native town. Shortly afterward the bride was brought by her husband to Wisconsin, where he held the position of Indian Agent at Fort Winnebago. Here they resided until 1834, when Chicago became the permanent home of the family.⁵

Mrs. Kinzie, therefore, possessed no first hand or contemporary knowledge of the Chicago massacre, her information being derived from members of her husband's family at some time subsequent to 1830. Of these, the only ones who were qualified to give her first hand information were her mother-in-law, the widow of John Kinzie, the trader, and her husband's half sister, Mrs. Helm, who at the time of the massacre was seventeen years of age and the wife of Lieutenant Helm. It should be noted further that Mrs. Kinzie, Sr., did not witness the actual conflict, and so, for this part of the narrative, the author purports to quote directly the words of Mrs. Helm, though it is evident that not all which passes for

⁴ For the facts about Mrs. Kinzie's early life, see the biographical sketch by her daughter in the Rand-McNally edition of *Wau Bun*. The year of the marriage is given as 1829 in the Kinzie family genealogy by Eleanor Kinzie Gordon, a manuscript in the Chicago Historical Society Library. The year 1830 seems the more probable date.

⁵ Statement of Mrs. Kinzie in *Fergus Historical Series*, No. 10, p. 26.

direct quotation from Mrs. Helm was actually derived from her.

Let us now note the genesis of Mrs. Kinzie's history. She herself says, in the pamphlet narrative of 1844,⁶ that the record was taken many years since, "from the lips . . . of eye witnesses of the events described", and that the motive for writing it was simply to preserve to her children "a faithful picture of the perilous scenes through which those near and dear to them had been called to pass", but at the solicitation of many friends, and to avoid the possibility of its unauthorized appearance in print, she had consented to its publication in its original form. In her preface to *Wau Bun*, however, written in 1855, a radically different explanation is offered. Disclaiming the subterfuge of autobiographical writers of excusing their work to the public on the ground that it had been written for the eyes of friends alone, at whose solicitation only it is now published, Mrs. Kinzie states that her record was preserved in compliance with the prompting of a relative, evidently her mother-in-law, who argued that in the future it would interest not only their children, but strangers as well.

A narrative produced under such conditions may possess great historical value, but it is evident that so far as it pertains to the Chicago massacre, it must be used with caution. Proper allowance must be made for errors due to the lapse of a quarter of a century between the occurrence and the recording of the events described. The possibility of the author's being misled by her informants, either consciously through prejudice or unconsciously because of their inability accurately to describe the events through which they passed, must be considered. Finally, the trustworthiness of the author herself must be weighed, from a consideration of her capacity properly to perform the task in hand, and of the motives by which

⁶ Advertisement to pamphlet narrative of 1844.

she was governed. Strangely enough, practically all the histories of the Chicago massacre have ignored these fundamental rules of historical criticism. The writer, having made some effort to reconstruct the story of that event, and having thus been led to test the validity of the Kinzie narrative, ventures to advance the following propositions concerning it.

First: there existed, at the time of the massacre, an antipathy on the part of John Kinzie toward Captain Heald. This feeling of hostility was heightened by Heald's determination to evacuate the fort, contrary to Kinzie's interests and advice. In consequence, the Kinzie family narrative does gross injustice to Captain Heald.

Second: a desire to magnify the role played by the Kinzies in the massacre is evident. The narrative came to its final form through a process of gradual development and with its growth the part played by the Kinzies waxed accordingly.

Third: Mrs. Helm, on whose authority the description of the actual massacre is given, could not have played the part in it which is ascribed to her; and there is some reason for thinking that she was temperamentally incapable of accurately describing such an affair.

Fourth: Mrs. Kinzie, the author, neither possessed historical training nor was she imbued with the historian's ideal of reproducing the facts as they really were. Though her book contains much of historical value, yet the account of the Fort Dearborn massacre abounds in details that could not possibly have been remembered; in others that could not have been known to the writer or her informants; and in still others that could never have occurred. It exaggerates some parts and glosses over others. The author's desire for dramatic effect outruns her zeal for sober truth, and the narrative is marred by her effort to keep the Kinzie family the center of interest and of action.

If these propositions are valid, it will follow that Mrs. Kinzie's statements, when uncorroborated, can not be regarded as authoritative, and that the correct story of the Chicago massacre yet remains to be written. In the limited space at my disposal, I can not undertake to adduce evidence in support of all the points noted, but to the elucidation of some of them I shall now turn.

The year 1810 witnessed the culmination at Fort Dearborn of a quarrel over the control of the trading privilege at the post, which rent the little garrison asunder, and resulted in the dispersion of the official family far and wide and the appearance of a new set of officers on the scene. The story is a long one in its entirety, but we are interested in it only to the extent that it throws light on the situation at the time of the massacre of 1812. Captain Whistler had dominated the life of the little fort from the time of its construction under his direction in 1803. He had a numerous family of children, several of whom, like their father before them, entered the regular army. For several years Whistler's eldest son, William, served as Lieutenant under him at Fort Dearborn; his eldest daughter, Sarah, was married here, in 1804, to James Abbot, the Detroit merchant, this constituting the first Chicago wedding of which we have any record. Another daughter became the wife of Lieutenant Hamilton, who was also stationed for some years at Fort Dearborn, under his father-in-law. We do not know how much earlier the arrangement may have been entered upon, but in the summer of 1807 we find John Kinzie, the trader, and John Whistler, Jr., a younger son of the commander, maintaining a partnership for the purpose of supplying the garrison trade.⁷ The partnership lasted

⁷ Barry transcript of names in Kinzie's account book, entry for July 26, 1807, a manuscript owned by the Chicago Historical Society; manuscript letter of Matthew Irwin to Colonel Kingsbury, April 29, 1810. That it was John Whistler, Jr., who was Kinzie's partner is shown by the county record at Detroit, cited by Hurlbut's *Chicago Antiquities*, p. 469.

until August 21, 1809, when, for some reason not now known, it was dissolved.⁸

That some discord had developed is, however, reasonably apparent from what followed. Six weeks after the dissolution Doctor Cooper, who, since his arrival at Fort Dearborn the preceding year, had become the firm friend of Captain Whistler,⁹ sought and obtained permission from the Secretary of War to suttle for the garrison. To "suttle" meant to supply the soldiers with articles not furnished them by the government. It chanced that shortly after Cooper's arrival at Fort Dearborn, Matthew Irwin had been appointed government factor to conduct the Indian trading establishment at Chicago.¹⁰ He seems also to have held, as did Varnum, the former factor, the appointment of government contractor for providing the soldiers with such provisions as were furnished them by the government.¹¹ The privilege which Cooper had procured of suttling for the garrison interfered not only with Irwin's profits but also with those of Kinzie, who, until the dissolution of the partnership with the younger Whistler, had enjoyed this trade. Irwin and Kinzie now drew together in opposition to Captain Whistler, whom they seem rightly to have re-

⁸ Barry transcript of names in Kinzie's account book, entry for August 21, 1809.

⁹ James Grant Wilson's *Chicago from 1803 to 1812*, manuscript owned by Chicago Historical Society. The Society possesses a copy of Shensstone's poems, and Mr. C. F. Gunther, of Chicago, has a pistol, both of which were presented to Cooper by Whistler on leaving Fort Dearborn in 1810. Cooper wrote to Kingsbury at the time of the quarrel that he was willing to sell his life to prove Whistler's innocence of the charges against him.—Manuscript letter owned by the Chicago Historical Society. The date and salutation have been cut off.

¹⁰ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, p. 326.

¹¹ That Irwin held this appointment is shown by his letters to Kingsbury, notably that of April 29, 1810, a manuscript owned by the Chicago Historical Society. That Varnum had been contractor as well as factor seems to be indicated by certain entries in Kinzie's account book. Barry transcript, a manuscript owned by the Chicago Historical Society.

garded as the real power behind Cooper. For some reason Jouett, the Indian Agent, and Lieutenant Thompson, the remaining officer at Fort Dearborn, joined the Irwin-Kinzie coalition. Lieutenant Hamilton, who was Whistler's son-in-law, of course sided with Cooper and Whistler, and the quarrel quickly became furious.

Irwin claimed that the three officers opposed to him united in a policy of persecution calculated to force him to give up his position as contractor, and that the Whistler family frequently boasted that it would soon drive him from business and regain the control of the garrison trade which it had formerly held.¹² Whistler asserted on the other hand that the "malignant wretches", opposed to him, particularly Jouett, were guilty of defrauding the public; as for Lieutenant Thompson he was a mere tool in the hands of the others, who despised him even while they made use of him to forward their purposes.¹³ Jouett had told of his running away to escape paying his landlord, and Whistler stated that he had acknowledged himself a "Liar in the presence of all the gentlemen in the fort and its vicinity." Cooper bore a challenge to a duel from Lieutenant Hamilton to Kinzie, which the latter declined to accept, contenting himself with roundly cursing both principal and second.¹⁴ Half a century afterward Cooper described the trader as a man of ungovernable temper, who frequently engaged in bitter quarrels.

The opposition to Whistler, determined to drive him from Chicago if not from the service, preferred charges against him to Kingsbury his superior, and demanded

¹² Irwin to Kingsbury, April 29, 1810, manuscript letter owned by the Chicago Historical Society. The details of his alleged persecution are set forth at considerable length in this letter.

¹³ Kingsbury letter-book (manuscript owned by the Chicago Historical Society), Whistler to Kingsbury, May 27, 1810.

¹⁴ James Grant Wilson's manuscript on *Chicago from 1803 to 1812*, owned by the Chicago Historical Society.

his arrest and court-martial. We need not enter here into all the details, but it is significant to note that one of the charges was to the effect that the commander had beaten a soldier for not trading with his son.¹⁵ Cooper showed that the beating came as the result of a regular sentence by court-martial, such as were common in the army at that time.¹⁶ On the other hand, Cooper preferred charges against Thompson which he believed would inevitably "brake" him. It is not possible with the information available to decide the question of right between the warring factions, but it is significant that Whistler was steadily upheld by Kingsbury, his superior, who believed the charges against him to be false, and that Heald, his successor at Fort Dearborn found everything in good order and expressed a belief in his integrity.

The immediate outcome of the quarrel was a triumph for Whistler's enemies. Instead of bringing the officers to trial on the charges preferred against them, the War Department decided on a shifting of the officers at Fort Dearborn. In the spring of 1810, Whistler was transferred to Detroit, and Hamilton to Bellefontaine. Captain Heald came from Fort Wayne to take command of Fort Dearborn. Cooper and Thompson remained for the time being; but Thompson died the following March, and Cooper shortly left the service in disgust. To fill the gaps thus created, Dr. Van Voorhies and Ensign Ronan, the latter fresh from West Point, were ordered to Fort Dearborn in the summer of 1811, and about the same time Lieutenant Helm at Detroit, who had married John Kinzie's step-daughter, was transferred to Fort

¹⁵ Kingsbury to Nicoll, February 15, 1811, Drennan manuscript owned by the Chicago Historical Society.

¹⁶ For the prevalence of corporal punishment in the army in this period, see Anthony Wayne's orderly book in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XXXIV; and *Kingsbury Papers*, manuscript owned by Chicago Historical Society, records of courts martial proceedings.

Dearborn. The officers were now the same as on the fatal day of evacuation in August, 1812.

But this shifting of the officers failed to extinguish the discord at Fort Dearborn, probably because its underlying cause, the rivalry over the Indian and garrison trade, remained. No sooner had Captain Heald assumed his new command than he gave notice to Kingsbury of his dissatisfaction with it, and his intention of securing a long leave of absence or, in the event of this being denied him, of resigning the service. What the grounds of his dissatisfaction were we are left to conjecture, but in this instance this is not a difficult task. The feud between the civilian element and the military at the frontier posts had long since become traditional. In the recent quarrel the former element had completely triumphed over the latter. It could hardly be supposed that the victors would conduct themselves with humility, or that they would be less inclined to dictate to Heald than they had been to his predecessor. And if he did not choose to submit, the fate of his predecessor showed what he might reasonably believe to be in store for him.

Unhappily we lose from this time the guidance of Kingsbury's letter-book, and must supplement the scanty sources of information as to what took place at Fort Dearborn from the time of Heald's arrival in 1810 until the massacre two years later, with conjecture. Of the officers now at Fort Dearborn, Ronan and Van Voorhies were both young, having just entered the service, and Helm was, as we have seen, a relative by marriage of Kinzie, so that in any new quarrel that might arise Heald could expect little support from his officers. That new discord soon developed at Fort Dearborn is evident both from Lieutenant Helm's version of the massacre, and from the Kinzie family version as given in the pages of *Wau Bun*. Matters came to such a pass that in the spring of 1812 Kinzie stabbed John LaLime, the govern-

ment Indian interpreter, to death, just outside the entrance to the fort.

The responsibility for this affray will never, it is probable, be determined. LaLime's side of the story has not been preserved, except in the form of unreliable verbal tradition which presents Kinzie in the light of aggressor and murderer.¹⁷ The Kinzie family account represents that LaLime, insanely jealous over Kinzie's success as a trader, treacherously attacked him, armed with a pistol and a dirk, and was killed by Kinzie in self-defense.¹⁸ This account has been accepted hitherto by practically all writers on early Chicago history,¹⁹ but it is as unworthy of credence as the opposite tradition.

To note a few of its inconsistencies, it represents that LaLime, having threatened to take Kinzie's life, made an unprovoked assault upon the latter with dagger and gun, in the presence of Lieutenant Helm. Kinzie, though able to show his entire innocence by this influential witness, fled to the woods immediately after the killing and later to Milwaukee. After some days or weeks he returned, was given a fair trial by the officers of the garrison and was acquitted. The explanation of the flight as due to fear of action by the officers of the garrison, with whom LaLime was a favorite, does not carry conviction in view of the fact that in Helm, his son-in-law, Kinzie had both a witness to his innocence and an advocate connected with himself by family ties, while the other officers, aside from Captain Heald, were little more than youths.

¹⁷ William R. Head manuscript. Head knew James Kinzie and other pioneer Chicagoans, and his information purports to be based on such sources.

¹⁸ Eleanor Kinzie Gordon's *John Kinzie "The Father of Chicago"*, pp. 8, 9. Also see letter of G. S. Hubbard, whose information was gained from the Kinzie family, in Wentworth's *Early Chicago, Fort Dearborn*, in *Fergus Historical Series*, No. 16, p. 83.

¹⁹ For example, Wentworth, Andreas, and Kirkland. The label on the reputed skeleton of LaLime in the Chicago Historical Society museum records that he was "killed by John Kinzie in self-defense."

But granting their animosity, what power had the officers to try and punish Kinzie who was a civilian?

Whatever Heald's course may have been with reference to the garrison trade and the LaLime affray, a new source of hatred by Kinzie for the commander appears with Hull's order for the evacuation of Fort Dearborn. For Kinzie and the other civilians clustered around the fort this spelled nothing less than financial ruin. Their opposition to it was, therefore, as natural as it was futile; and the Kinzie family years afterwards, gaining, by chance, a talented spokesman, vented their enmity toward Heald by pillorying him before the world as an incompetent imbecile, whose stupidity was alone responsible for the massacre. But in this assault on the character of the unfortunate commander the Kinzie narrative overshot its mark. Many of the accusations break down of their own weight, and others are refuted by more credible evidence from other sources.

With this explanation of the prejudice which animates the Kinzie narrative, let us turn to a consideration of the argument derogatory to Captain Heald. A considerable portion of it is based upon the character of the order for the evacuation received by Heald from General Hull. With a regard for literalness which, in view of all the circumstances, must excite our admiration, Mrs. Kinzie gives this order verbatim. It was "to evacuate the fort if practicable, and, in that event, to distribute all the United States property contained in the fort, and in the United States factory, or Agency, among the Indians in the neighborhood". Thus it is made to appear that the evacuation was optional with Heald. Winnemeg, the Indian runner, and Kinzie advise against such a course; Heald announces his determination to evacuate after he has collected the Indians and divided the Government property among them; the junior officers, finding that no council is to be called, wait upon Heald and remonstrate

against his decision; he expresses full confidence in the Indians, sticks to his determination, and a little later gives as the final reason for evacuation, a scarcity of provisions; the officers henceforth hold aloof from Heald, and dissatisfaction among the soldiers soon rises to a "high pitch" of insubordination.

Unfortunately Hull's order, upon the wording of which the credibility of all these statements depends, has disappeared. On July 29th, Hull wrote to Eustis that he would send Heald immediately just such an order, in effect, as Mrs. Kinzie has described, closing with the significant testimonial, "Captain Heald is a judicious officer and I shall confide much to his discretion".²⁰ Thus Mrs. Kinzie's charges of a total want of capacity in Captain Heald are refuted by Hull; but, though Hull expressed an intention of leaving the evacuation optional with Heald, we do not know that he actually sent such an order; on the contrary, Heald, whose statement in the matter is certainly to be preferred to Mrs. Kinzie's, states in his report of the massacre that Hull ordered him to evacuate the fort, but left it to his discretion to dispose of the public property as he saw fit. On this statement of the case, the course adopted by Heald ceases to be a matter for wonder. Why should he disregard the order of his superior to follow the advice of an Indian runner (assuming such advice to have actually been given), and an Indian trader, one of whom conceivably, and the other obviously, was governed, in giving it, by motives of self interest? One ceases, too, to wonder that Heald, as Mrs. Kinzie charges, omitted calling a council of his officers to debate the question of ignoring or obeying the orders of his commander, especially when one learns that the body of officers in question consisted of a Lieutenant, an Ensign, and a Surgeon, that the first

²⁰ Hull to Eustis, Sandwich, W. C., July 29, 1812, Drennan manuscript, in the Chicago Historical Society.

was allied by marriage with the Kinzies, and the second, according to Mrs. Kinzie's own story, was impudent and insubordinate. On the other hand, one can not but wonder how Winnemeg, the Indian runner, became aware of the contents of Hull's message; how he became aware that the garrison was "well supplied with ammunition and provisions for six months"; and why Captain Heald, who had spent many years in service on the frontier, must be informed by an insubordinate private of the possibility of preserving meat by "jerking" it.

Let us now consider Mrs. Kinzie's account of Captain Heald's amazing stupidity respecting the hostile attitude of the Indians. As early as the spring of 1812, she represents that two Indians from the Calumet, on a visit to Heald, observing the wives of the officers playing at battledore, remarked to the interpreter, "The 'white chiefs' wives are amusing themselves very much; it will not be long before they are hoeing in our cornfields". After the arrival of Hull's messenger, the Indians became daily more unruly; they entered the fort in defiance of the sentinels; they entered the officers' quarters without ceremony; one, to show his defiance, even discharged a rifle in Captain Heald's parlor, and the demeanor of the others at this time was such as to lead to the belief that the act had been intended as the signal for an attack. Yet, while every other soul in the little garrison passed his days and nights in momentary fear of butchery, Heald's serene faith in the amicable disposition of the Indians remained unshaken.

The evident design of these statements is to impugn further the good sense and capacity of Captain Heald; to the present moment, this design has been realized and the aspersions of Heald's accuser have obtained general credence among historians. Yet their groundlessness is easily demonstrated. Concerning the first incident it may be observed that it is contrary to Indian nature and

custom to give an intended victim advance warning of a contemplated attack upon him. The remaining statements are contradicted, first, by General Hull's unsolicited testimonial that Heald was a judicious officer; second, by Mrs. Heald's account of the massacre as reported by her son, Darius Heald, who states that the fort was evacuated quietly, "not a cross word being passed between soldiers and Indians", and finally by Heald's official report of the massacre, which says that the Indians "conducted with the strictest propriety" until after he left the fort.

Mrs. Kinzie further represents that on August 12th Heald held a council with the Indians before the fort; that his officers, having been secretly informed of a plot to fall upon and massacre the whites in the council, refused to attend; Heald was accompanied, therefore, only by Kinzie, and as soon as he left the stockade, the block-house port holes were opened and the cannon trained upon the assembled council. By this means, it is suggested, the lives of the white men were saved.

The animus of these statements, also, is evident, and they are sufficiently refuted by their own inherent improbability. Why was not this secret information imparted to Captain Heald? And why should the Indians have massacred the officers, even without the threat of the menacing cannon? For we are further told that Heald informed them in the council of the coming evacuation, and of his purpose to distribute the government property and stores among them. Were the Indians as imbecile as Heald is himself represented to have been, that they should slay him, leaving the garrison, under command of the junior officers, in secure possession of the fort, when by waiting a couple of days they would find themselves in peaceable possession of the goods and the fort, with the garrison at their mercy on the barren lake shore? Clearly, the narrative proves too much; in

the effort to defame Captain Heald, it succeeds only in revealing the prejudice which animates its author.

Evidence of a desire to magnify the importance of the role played by the Kinzies abounds throughout the narrative. Thus the officers of the garrison are made to argue that the Indians had previously refrained from attacking the post only because of their regard for Kinzie; Kinzie is made the confidant of Winnemeg; Kinzie induced Heald to destroy the ammunition and whisky; Kinzie warned the commander of the treachery of the Indians; Mrs. Helm, Kinzie's step-daughter, discoursed eloquently to the craven surgeon, Van Voorhies, on the propriety of meeting death bravely; Mrs. Kinzie saved the life of Mrs. Heald; finally, Lieutenant Helm, Kinzie's son-in-law, negotiated the surrender.

It may be observed, with reference to these statements, that some of them are probably true; but some are improbable and others are impossible. Concerning the death of Surgeon Van Voorhies, is it to be believed that in the midst of battle, in momentary expectation of death, the girl wife of seventeen, probably witnessing violence and bloodshed for the first time, should discourse upon her impending fate with a philosophic calmness rivaling that displayed by Socrates, while the grown man and soldier was completely unnerved? Or that the latter should plead with the former to save his life when it was obvious that she was in at least as great danger and as helpless as himself? Unfortunately, we have no other record of how Van Voorhies met his fate, and so for nearly three quarters of a century his memory has been blackened by this cruel tale. But we do know from his letters that he was a man of unusual breadth of vision, and we have recorded by Mrs. Kinzie two instances in the later life of Mrs. Helm when, in the face of threatened danger trivial in comparison with that of the massacre day, she became completely unnerved.

The statement that Lieutenant Helm negotiated the surrender is equally improbable. Why should he have assumed this authority in the presence of his commanding officer? Our wonder is only relieved when we learn from Heald's report that he did not, but that Heald himself arranged the terms of the surrender.

The whisky narrative will repay careful examination. Captain Heald had seen thirteen years of service, he had been chosen for the command at Fort Dearborn under circumstances which justify us in interpreting the selection as an expression of confidence in his judgment on the part of his superiors, and finally we have Hull's testimonial of the preceding month to the effect that he was a "judicious officer" to whose discretion he trusted much. Yet we are told that until Kinzie took the trouble to open his eyes, the impolicy of distributing the ammunition and liquor, along with the other goods, to the Indians, had not occurred to him. In accordance with Kinzie's suggestion, these things were destroyed that evening with as much secrecy as possible. Part were thrown into the well, the remainder of the liquor was poured into the river. But the Indians became aware of the proceeding; they heard the noise made by knocking in the heads of the liquor barrels; and further, "so great was the quantity of liquor thrown into the river that the taste of the water next morning was, as one expressed it, 'strong grog'".

This last assertion is truly remarkable. There are, indeed, more majestic streams than our own Chicago; but even so, how many barrels of liquor must be poured into it in the evening in order that the following morning the water may taste like "strong grog"? Is it likely that the little frontier fort was so liberally supplied with liquid refreshment as Mrs. Kinzie would imply? Any doubt which may be entertained in the matter is dissolved for us by the Darius Heald narrative. There we learn from Mrs. Heald that there was but one barrel of whisky

in the fort, and that this was poured into the well. Evidently it was Kinzie's stock of fire water alone which so generously flavored the river water. We further learn from the Heald narrative that Captain Heald himself proposed the destruction of the liquor, and that when he urged this course upon Kinzie, the latter sought to secure a pledge from the commander that the government would reimburse him for his loss.

A comparison of the pamphlet version of the massacre of 1844 with the *Wau Bun* version of 1856 throws additional light upon the question of the trustworthiness of the Kinzie narrative. It has been stated²¹ that the contents of the pamphlet were transferred with slight variation to the pages of *Wau Bun*, but this statement does not adequately indicate the character of the changes made. Mrs. Kinzie undertook to improve not only the arrangement of her narrative, but also its dramatic qualities. I shall call attention to but one of the changes introduced, that relating to the rescue of Mrs. Heald. In the pamphlet version, it is related that she was captured by the Indians, one of whom was in the act of scalping her when "Chandonnai, a half-breed from St. Joseph's, ran up and offered for her ransom a mule he had just taken", in addition to two bottles of whisky. The bargain was concluded. For what followed I quote from the narrative: "Mrs. Heald was placed in the boat with Mrs. K. and her children, covered with a buffalo robe, and enjoined silence as she valued her life. In this situation the heroic woman remained, without uttering a sound that could betray her to the savages, who were continually coming to the boat in search of prisoners, but who always retired peacefully when told that it contained only the family of Shaw-nee-aw-kee." In the later version, this incident has assumed the following imposing propor-

²¹ By Thwaites, in Kinzie's *Wau Bun* (Caxton Club Edition), introduction, p. xix.

tions: "Those of the family of Mr. Kinzie who had remained in the boat, near the mouth of the river, . . . realized nothing until they saw an Indian come toward them from the battle ground, leading a horse on which sat a lady, apparently wounded. 'That is Mrs. Heald,' cried Mrs. Kinzie, 'That Indian will kill her. Run, Chandonnai', to one of Mr. Kinzie's clerks, 'take the mule that is tied there, and offer it to him to release her'. . . . The bargain was concluded. The savage placed the lady's bonnet on his own head, and after an ineffectual attempt on the part of some squaws to rob her of her shoes and stockings, she was brought on board the boat, where she lay moaning with pain from the many bullet wounds she had received in both arms.

"She had not lain long in the boat when a young Indian of savage aspect was seen approaching. A buffalo robe was drawn over Mrs. Heald and she was admonished to suppress all sound of complaint, as she valued her life.

"The heroic woman remained perfectly quiet, while the savage drew near. He held a pistol in his hand, which he rested on the side of the boat, while, with a fearful scowl, he looked pryingly around. Black Jim, one of the servants who stood in the bow of the boat, seized an axe that lay near, and signed to him that if he shot he would cleave his skull. Upon this, the Indian retired. It afterwards appeared that the object of his search was Mr. Burnett, a trader from St. Joseph's, with whom he had some account to settle".

This is a pretty story; but one may reasonably ask if it is as true as it is pretty. At the time of the publication of the first narrative, the author had been a member of the Kinzie family for fourteen years. How did it happen that she was not, during that long period, made acquainted with the facts, if such they be, that appear for the first time in the *Wau Bun* account of 1856? One would like to explain away the additions by the as-

sumption that the brevity of the pamphlet account of 1844 prevented their inclusion; while the author found this practicable in the narrative of 1856, which constituted part of a more elaborate undertaking, a book. But such an assumption is rendered impossible by the plain contradictions of the earlier version which are contained in the later one.

In the early version, Mrs. Kinzie has nothing to do with the rescue of Mrs. Heald: in the latter one, she is represented as the active agent in that rescue. In the early version, Mrs. Heald is represented as not uttering a sound after being placed in the boat: in the later one, she "lay moaning with pain" until a particular Indian drew near. In the early version, we are told that "savages were continually coming to the boat in search of prisoners", but they "always retired peaceably" when told that it contained only the Kinzie family: in the later one, the thrilling drama of the Indian with the "fearful scowl" and pistol, and Black Jim threatening to cleave his skull with an axe, is enacted. How came Black Jim's heroic service to be so ungratefully denied in the early narrative? How came the axe so conveniently at hand in the second? How is the presence of the squaws to be explained, and why did they not reveal Mrs. Heald's hiding place to the Indian? What other articles besides axes and mules and squaws might not have been produced, if only the needs of the author had demanded their presence?

But we need not undertake to explain away these inconsistencies for we learn from the Darius Heald narrative that there was no rescue of Mrs. Heald; that she was not near the mouth of the river; that no attempt was made to scalp her; and that she did not dismount from her horse until after her return to the Indian camp, which lay west of the fort.

Mrs. Kinzie is our only authority for the story that

the garrison began its fatal journey to the music of the dead march. Writers of history, poetry, and fiction alike have accepted this statement and worked it over to suit their separate purposes. Kirkland considers it and gravely concludes that "Mrs. Helm must have known, and we can but take her word for it".²² Naturally, we have no statement which directly disproves the story, but, aside from the fact of its inherent improbability, there is indirect evidence which tends to disprove it. It will readily be granted that the credibility of the story depends upon the truth of Mrs. Kinzie's description of the unreluctance of the Indians and of the state of demoralization of the garrison prior to the evacuation. But the unreliability of this description has already been shown; Heald says the Indians acted "with strictest propriety" until after the departure from the fort; and Mrs. Heald corroborates this, saying that the fort was vacated quietly, goodbyes being exchanged between soldiers and Indians, and not a cross word passed between them. What reason, then, could there have been for marching out to such a mournful accompaniment? The story may safely be consigned to the same limbo as the other creations of Mrs. Kinzie's imagination.

The author's account of the death of Captain Wells is equally incredible. She says that on observing the slaughter of the children in the wagon, Wells exclaimed, "Is that their game, butchering the women and children? Then I will kill, too". So saying, he started his horse for the Indian camp a mile and a half or more away, where the squaws and their children had been left. His design was frustrated, however, by the Indian warriors pursuing and killing him en route. Now, we know much about the life and character of Wells, and all that we know shows him to have been possessed of exceptional bravery and strength of character. Yet we are asked to

²² Kirkland's *The Chicago Massacre*, p. 348.

believe that this man, whose name had become a synonym on the frontier for intrepidity and daring, who had enjoyed for years the fullest confidence of Indians and whites alike, including such men as William Henry Harrison, Mad Anthony Wayne and Little Turtle, not only deserted his comrades in the heat of the conflict, but also left the surviving women and children to their fate, in order to ride to the distant Indian village for the purpose of slaughtering there the defenseless children and squaws. If any refutation of such a story were necessary, we have it in Mrs. Heald's narrative which represents Wells as having died fighting bravely to the last; and there is no reason, either in her story or in the facts which we know of Wells's life and character, for doubting its essential correctness.

And now let us advert to what has come to be regarded as the classic event of the Chicago massacre, the rescue of Mrs. Helm by Black Partridge, which has been made the dominant theme of the massacre monument. There is, of course, no evidence which directly refutes this story: but I venture to suggest that, like the story of Black Jim's heroism, it seems altogether too good to be true. Mrs. Helm is represented as having been interrupted in her lofty discourse to Surgeon Van Voorhies by a young Indian who attempted to tomahawk her. She grappled with him, and while still struggling to prevent him from scalping her, was snatched away by another Indian and borne out into the lake. Here she discovered that her captor was the friendly Black Partridge, and that his purpose was not to drown her as she had supposed, but to save her. The fighting over, she was taken ashore and conducted to the Indian camp near the fort.

It seems probable that there was a nucleus of fact around which this story was built up by successive stages until it developed into the romantic affair described in the pages of *Wau Bun*. It is clear that Kinzie possessed

sufficient influence over the friendly Indians to insure immunity from injury to himself and the members of his family. It is not improbable that these Indians protected Mrs. Helm during the massacre.

In 1820 the careful and scholarly Schoolcraft passed through Chicago. He gives us an account of the massacre which he derived chiefly from John Kinzie, whose guest he was for several days. Among other things, he describes the duel to the death between Sergeant Hayes and an Indian. Hayes bayoneted the Indian, and was in turn tomahawked by him, the two falling dead together with the bayonet still in the Indian's body. This is a curious and interesting story, enough so to justify Schoolcraft in recording it and commenting upon it. But it is not more curious or thrilling than the *Wau Bun* narrative of the rescue of Mrs. Helm by Black Partridge. Why did Kinzie relate the one, but omit to relate the other to Schoolcraft? Or, if Schoolcraft was informed of the Black Partridge rescue of Mrs. Helm, why did he fail to record it? Was there, as we have found in the case of Mrs. Heald, no such rescue? Or is the omission due to its commonplaceness?

This negative evidence, while significant, is, of course, not conclusive. But in 1835 we reach a new stage in the evolution of the rescue story. In that year, Harriet Martineau, the English traveler, visited Chicago, and in the course of her stay here was entertained by Mr. and Mrs. John H. Kinzie.²³ She was told and has recorded the Black Partridge rescue story. She relates that as Mrs. Helm sat on her horse, it was seized by an Indian in war-like costume. Thinking he meant to slay her, she "fought him vigorously", which he bore without doing her injury, after having tried in vain to communicate with her. Another Indian now came up and the two led the horse to the lake, and into it until the water reached their chins. In-

²³ Martineau's *Society in America*, Vol. I, pp. 354, 355.

stead of drowning her, they held her on her horse until the massacre was over, when they led her out in safety.

Such was the story told to Harriet Martineau in 1835. While it is an interesting one, it lacks the melodramatic features possessed by the *Wau Bun* version. It will be noted also, that, like the story of the rescue of Mrs. Heald, the evident purpose of the later transformation was to produce a more romantic and readable narrative.

I close with a recapitulation of the more important points suggested by this paper:

But little was known by the public concerning the Chicago massacre when Mrs. Juliette A. Kinzie published her narrative, first as a pamphlet in 1844, but afterward as a part of the book, *Wau Bun*, in 1856. From the first appearance of this narrative until the present day, it has met with general acceptance at the hands of students and historians, and almost all other accounts of the massacre are based upon it. Examination shows, however, that the author had no first hand or contemporary knowledge of the massacre; that her informants were actuated by a strong prejudice against Captain Heald; that perhaps, they, and certainly the author, distorted the facts in such a way as to magnify the role played by the members of the Kinzie family; that serious differences exist between the narrative as published in 1844 and in 1856, and that the character of these differences harmonizes with the motive above stated; that the narrative abounds in details and statements, the incorrectness of some of which is self evident, of others is probable, and of still others is proved by more credible witnesses; more specifically, the statements about the misbehavior of the Indians prior to the evacuation are refuted; the part played by the Kinzies in the events of the massacre is materially diminished; the heroism of Mrs. Helm and the poltroonery of Surgeon Van Voorhies are so improbable as to be un-

worthy of serious consideration; the same is true of the dead march story and also of the narrative of the death of Captain Wells; the story of Mrs. Helm's romantic rescue by Black Partridge is probably largely fictitious, and that of the rescue of Mrs. Heald by Mrs. Kinzie is certainly entirely so. The conclusion seems justified, that Mrs. Kinzie's narrative of the Chicago massacre is so unreliable as to be unworthy of credence except when corroborated by other evidence; the true history of the Chicago massacre, therefore, yet remains to be written.

Note.—Several months after the foregoing study had been prepared, and as many weeks after it had been turned over to the editor of this volume for publication, I learned that the original order of General Hull to Captain Heald for the evacuation of Fort Dearborn was still in existence. For upwards of forty years, unknown to students of Chicago history, it has been resting securely among the manuscripts of the Draper Collection, now owned by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Through the courtesy of the Secretary of that Society, Mr. Reuben G. Thwaites, who furnished me with a copy of the order, I am able to append it here. It will be observed that the order to evacuate the fort is positive, thus disagreeing with Mrs. Kinzie's version of it, and confirming the conclusions which had already been reached in this study. It may be noted further that, short as the order is, it contradicts the *Wau Bun* narrative in two other respects. A scarcity of provisions is given as the reason for the evacuation, and the destruction of the arms and ammunition, the credit for which is claimed for Kinzie by the author of *Wau Bun*, is enjoined upon Captain Heald by General Hull. The order reads as follows:

138 MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Sandwich July 29th 1812

Capt. Nat. Heald

Sir

It is with regret I order the Evacuation of your Post owing to the want of Provisions only a neglect of the Commandant of [word illegible — possibly Detroit].

You will therefore Destroy all arms & ammunition, but the Goods of the Factory you may give to the Friendly Indians who may be desirous of Escorting you on to Fort Wayne & to the Poor & needy of your Post. I am informed this day that Makinaw & the Island of St. Joseph will be Evacuated on acct of the scarcity of Provision & I hope in my next to give you an acct. of the Surrender of the British at Malden as I Expect 600 men here by the beginning of Sept.

I am Sir

Yours &c

Brigadier Gen. Hull.

Addressed: Capt. Nathan Heald, Commander Fort Dearborn by Express.

SOME MATERIALS FOR THE SOCIAL HISTORY
OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY IN THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY SOLON J. BUCK

The growth of democracy — political, industrial, and intellectual — during the last half century, has been reflected in the field of historiography by a broadening of our ideas as to "What is history". We are no longer content with a treatment of the subject which is confined to the annals of government or the activities of public men; we insist on knowing something about the lives and thoughts and ideals of the people as distinguished from those of the rulers and leaders. To take an example from American history, we are inclined to think that a knowledge of the way in which the American people settled a continent is as essential as a knowledge of the activities of our presidents and congresses. As a result of this tendency, the Germans have taken to writing *culturgeschichte*, and in America Professor McMaster produces a *History of the People of the United States*, while a host of monographic studies dealing with popular institutions, with economic conditions and problems, and with the settlement of particular States or physiographic areas, make their appearance. It is in this broad sense of the history of the people, including their political, economic, intellectual, and religious activities rather than as contrasted with political history that the term "social history" is used in the title of this paper.

If the scope of history is to be thus broadened, a corresponding broadening of the sources from which history is to be written, is necessary. No longer will the

records of government and the papers of public men be sufficient. We must search for the records of the people and devise means by which these records may be studied and presented in such a way as to bring out their significance.

For the political history of the people, the most obvious source is to be found in their votes at elections. And, indeed, a number of scholars have recently demonstrated that valuable conclusions can be reached by a careful study of election statistics, especially by means of mapping the percentages by counties. For this purpose, the first requisite is, of course, a reliable set of statistics, but, unfortunately, few States have seen fit to publish comprehensive election returns, especially for the earlier periods. The historical student has been obliged, therefore, to make use of unofficial, and totally unreliable compilations to be found in such publications as *Niles' Register* and the *Whig* or *Tribune Almanac*. In some States, and presumably in every State of the Mississippi Valley, an official manuscript record of all returns of elections is preserved in the office of the Secretary of State. What better service could our State historical societies and State departments of history perform than to make these statistics available to scholars by the publication of accurate compilations together with maps illustrating all the more important elections? The preparation of such maps involves a very considerable amount of routine labor, but once prepared, the foundations would be laid for a large number of historical studies and future investigators would be saved the necessity of duplicating each other's work.

The value of political statistics and maps depends, however, upon their interpretation and for this purpose a knowledge of the distribution of the population and of the different elements which make it up is essential. Here our principal reliance is the work of the Federal

census which furnishes statistics and maps displaying the distribution of the population at the end of each decade. Although excellent for depicting the general location and movement of population in the country as a whole, for purposes of State and local history the United States census maps are not entirely satisfactory. Since the county is taken as the unit, no distinction is made between settled and unsettled portions of large counties on the frontier, while the location of a large city within a county gives an apparently high density to the whole county. It would be very desirable to have series of population maps prepared for the different States in which the townships or other small divisions should be taken as units. For this purpose, the Federal census might be supplemented in many States by State censuses which would reduce the period between maps to five years. Some States have published more or less elaborate compilations of the returns of their State censuses, but in other States, the census appears to have been taken merely because the State constitution required it, no use being made of the returns. Illinois, for example, had a Territorial census in 1818 to determine if it contained enough people to secure admission to the Union, and State censuses every five years from 1820 to 1845 and every ten years thereafter up to and including 1865; but in general nothing more than the bare totals by counties was published and in some instances not even that much has been found. The original schedules, however, with some serious gaps, have been preserved in the archives of the State and the earliest of these schedules with compilations from the remainder will probably be published by the State Historical Library in the near future. It is possible that a similar situation exists in some of the other States of the Mississippi Valley.

But we want to know more about the people than their mere numbers and location; we want to know who

they are, where they came from, and what are their occupations and characteristics. For such information as this the United States census as published is of little value prior to 1850 when the gathering of information about nativity was first undertaken. The original schedules, however, for the Federal census in the western States from 1820 on are preserved in the Census Bureau at Washington, and by starting with these schedules, which contain the names of heads of families, it is believed that it would be possible to secure information about a sufficiently large proportion of the inhabitants of a district to make possible reliable generalizations as to the nativity, or former residence, of the people of that district in 1820 or 1830 or 1840. The Census Bureau is at present publishing the original schedules of the first Federal census in 1790, so far as they have been preserved. If it is worth while to do that for the eastern States which at that time had been settled communities for many years, certainly it would be worth while to publish these schedules for the States of the Mississippi Valley in 1820 and 1830 when they were in their beginnings. Such a publication would make possible far more systematic studies of the settlement of the Valley or its component parts than have yet appeared.

In gathering information about the nativity of heads of families whose names appear in these early schedules, the original schedules of the census of 1850 would be of great assistance. For those whose names do not appear in 1850 and for information upon other points than nativity, the principal sources are to be found in the records which have been preserved in county archives. The practice of recording and preserving comprehensive vital statistics has only recently begun to make headway in the Mississippi Valley; but a vast amount of information about the people of a county can be gleaned from other records and papers frequently to be found in its

archives, such as poll-books, assessor's rolls, records of transactions in land, and even court papers and records. Unfortunately the preservation of such miscellaneous material as this — aside from the court records — seems to have been pretty much a matter of chance. In some counties very little of the sort is to be found, while in others there are extensive collections, but almost never is this material well arranged, cared for, and made accessible to the historical student. It is high time, indeed, that the condition of county archives in the States of the Mississippi Valley should be brought to the attention of those who are interested in their preservation. Several months ago the opportunity came to me to visit the court houses of fourteen counties in central and southern Illinois and the conditions which this trip disclosed were appalling. Almost invariably the old and little used records and papers were found stored away in attic or basement rooms, frequently all jumbled together in barrels and packing boxes or even on the floor, without order or arrangement, and in imminent danger of being used by the janitor for kindling. The laws of the State of Illinois required copies of the schedules of the State censuses to be filed with the clerks of the circuit courts in each county. In only one of the fourteen counties visited did inquiry and reasonable search lead to the discovery of a single schedule and in that instance its existence was unknown to the officials and its discovery a matter of chance. In another county a lad of sixteen or seventeen years led me to an attic room which contained a few old books and papers scattered about the floor and on the shelves. He informed me that I might look these over but added that I would not be likely to find the census schedules desired because, two years before, when the accumulation in the room had become three or four feet deep upon the floor, he had been ordered to go through it and burn everything which did not appear to be of value. He

frankly admitted that in his estimation, old census schedules would have been worthless and consequently would have been consigned to the flames.

Such a condition of affairs as this seems to be the inevitable concomitant of the American practice of rotation in office and it is probable that the States of the Mississippi Valley will come in time to adopt some system of State supervision over the making and preservation of local records, similar to those which have already been adopted by a few of the New England States. It will take time, however, to bring this about, for the general public, and more particularly the legislators, must first be brought to an appreciation of the value and present condition of these records and the necessity for their preservation. In the meantime, here is a field which the increasing number of local historical societies might cultivate with the assurance of abundant harvests. Let them appoint committees of competent persons to visit the court houses and other depositories of local records, let the condition of these be ascertained and then, if necessary, let pressure be brought to bear upon the officials and governing bodies to induce them to make proper provision for the care of records whose value is primarily historical or else to turn them over to some historical library or State archives department where they will be taken care of. In addition to this, when a suitable person can be found to undertake the work, the society might well provide for the compilation of a detailed inventory of the archives of the county. It would seem, moreover, that the time is fast approaching when our local historical societies, following in the footsteps of their eastern prototypes, should begin the publication of some of the older and more important of the local records.

Invaluable as are our census statistics and maps, they are not the only means by which the story of American expansion can be told. The westward movement has

been primarily an agricultural movement with its basis in the land and as a consequence the record of the occupation of land is an index to that movement. Much has been written upon the general land system of the United States but so far as I know no one has ever attempted to trace step by step the actual taking up of land in any of the States or even in a smaller area. Yet it is certain that there are records in existence by means of which the date of entry of every legal subdivision of the public lands could be obtained and on the basis of this information it would be possible to construct county maps, which might afterwards be consolidated into State maps, showing just what land passed into private hands during each year or each five years or decade as might prove feasible. For the States of the Mississippi Valley in which the greater part of the land was at one time a part of the public domain, the problem of constructing such maps would be fairly simple and most of the information needed could probably be found in the general land office at Washington. Some complications would arise, however, from the extensive grants of land to the States and to railroad companies, for it would be desirable, if possible, to indicate when the land in question passed into the hands of private individuals rather than when it ceased to be a part of the public domain. In order to do this recourse would have to be had to land records preserved in State and county archives, to the records of land grant railroads, or, possibly, to the records preserved in abstract offices.

Thus far in this paper, the material discussed has been mainly in the nature of public records. There are also large masses of private material which have great value for the social history of the Mississippi Valley and a considerable part of which has been very little used by investigators. Ask any student of western history what is the greatest single collection of sources for the

history of the French régime and he will undoubtedly answer — "The Jesuit Relations". But missionary activity in the West did not come to an end with the withdrawal of the Jesuits although its purpose was gradually changed from the redemption of the savages to that of their successors, the frontiersmen. Home missionary and Bible societies were organized by the score in the New England and Middle States during the first decade of the nineteenth century, and each of these organizations hastened to send its agents and missionaries into the western fields to look after the spiritual wants of the frontiersmen and to prevent them from falling into the clutches of rival denominations. Just as the Jesuit fathers sent back relations to their superiors in France, so these agents and missionaries sent back voluminous letters and reports to the organizations under whose auspices they were laboring. Furthermore, just as the relations of the Jesuits are not confined to their religious activities but contain a large amount of general information, so these letters and reports throw a flood of light upon the development and social conditions of the western States and Territories.

Some of these reports have been printed in pamphlet form as, for example, the *Correct View of that Part of the United States which lies West of the Alleghany Mountains with regard to Religion and Morals* by Schermerhorn and Mills, Presbyterian missionaries who made a tour through the West and South in 1812 under the patronage of the Massachusetts and Connecticut missionary societies. Reports and correspondence were also published in the *Home Missionary* and other contemporary papers, but a large amount of such material is still awaiting the investigator in the archives of the American Home Missionary Society in New York City and of other similar organizations. Some assistance in locating material of this sort is furnished by a recent *Inventory of*

Unpublished Material for American Religious History compiled by Professor William H. Allison and published by the Carnegie Institution, although some important collections appear to have been omitted from that work.

Another somewhat similar class of material, which has also been little used, consists of the proceedings, reports, year-books, and other publications of the different religious denominations. Most of this material has been published, though undoubtedly there are unpublished records of value, but the principal obstacle to its use by investigators appears to be the scarcity of anything like comprehensive collections of these publications. It is to be hoped that our State historical societies and libraries are making an effort to collect such material of this sort as falls within their respective provinces.

Among the better known and more widely used sources for social history are the accounts written by travelers and the descriptive matter contained in guide-books and gazetteers. There seems to have been a revival of interest in travels during the last few years and many of the more valuable and interesting of the early ones have been reprinted with helpful annotations. It is probable that this work will continue, for there are certainly many more books of travel which are of sufficient value and sufficient rarity to warrant reprinting, but the great desideratum is a comprehensive bibliography of this sort of material for the Mississippi Valley or better still for the United States as a whole, with annotations which, besides evaluations, should contain definite statements as to what regions are described and when the observations were made. Such a compilation would enable the investigator to find out almost at a glance what travels he would need to consult, whether the limits of his field be geographical or chronological or both.

That public opinion has been a very powerful force in American life is generally conceded and most writers

on American history have given it due consideration. But it is far from being an easy matter to determine just what was the prevailing opinion of the people of any particular class or section or of the majority of the people as a whole upon a great many important questions. On some questions, of course, the voting part of the population has had an opportunity to express its opinions by the ballot, but it is seldom that the issue has been so clear and unmixed with other matters as to make the actual significance of the votes cast a certainty. Many other problems, moreover, and sometimes very important ones, which have engaged the attention of the people, have never been involved in elections. Recourse must be had, therefore, to a variety of sources among which the most extensive and in some ways the most satisfactory is an institution which is itself a powerful moulder of public opinion — the newspaper.

Never considered a satisfactory source for the events of history, the newspaper is slowly coming into its own as a source wherein the historian can find reflected, in the editorial columns, in communications from the people, and to a certain extent in the general tone and character of the news articles, the opinions, sentiments, and aspirations of the people. Unfortunately the general failure to comprehend that the commonplaces of the present will be the history of the future and the smallness of the amount of valuable material in proportion to bulk have prevented the preservation of files of more than a small proportion of the newspapers published. One who has seen the extensive collections belonging to such institutions as the Library of Congress and the Wisconsin Historical Society might be inclined to doubt this statement but an examination of a bibliography of newspapers recently issued by the Illinois State Historical Library would quickly convince him of its truth so far as Illinois is concerned at least, and it is not probable that the situation is very

much better in the other States of the Mississippi Valley.

It is doubtful if files or even so much as single copies of a single issue of half of the three thousand newspapers published in Illinois prior to 1880 are now preserved in all the public libraries of the United States. Some files, of course, are to be found in the offices of papers which are still published but these are far from being so extensive as one would suppose. Of all the issues of all these papers, it is probable that copies of not more than two per cent are known to be in existence. To be sure, the files which have been preserved and are accessible to students in our public libraries are of the more important papers but the minor papers are also of great value for local history and as reflectors of the opinions of people in the country districts. Many of these papers have undoubtedly passed into oblivion, but let us waste no time in crying over spilt milk. Many others are still in existence, stored away in closets or attics where they are subject to the ravages of mice and flames and the still more destructive house-cleaning. Let us hope that our local historical societies will bestir themselves (most of the State societies are already doing all in their power) and gather in as many of these files as possible. It would also be well to keep an eye on files in newspaper offices with a view to securing them whenever opportunity may offer. Only a few months ago the death of a veteran editor of Illinois was followed by the wanton destruction of a long file of his newspaper which he had carefully preserved.

The last class of material which I wish to consider is that composed of the family papers, letters, and diaries of common people who have never occupied any public positions of importance. Unfortunately, the idea seems to prevail that private letters and papers are of value or interest only to the immediate family of the persons concerned unless these persons happen to be men who have

achieved distinction in politics. The student of social history, however, will frequently be able to draw information of great value about the ordinary life and experiences of the people and about the opinions of ordinary people upon questions of state, from just such material as this. It has been my privilege recently to examine several collections of old private letters and, though finding much that was trivial and of no general interest, I was struck by the large amount of really valuable material which they contained. Especially interesting was a collection of letters to and from a young surgeon who served with one of the Illinois regiments in the Civil War. Here were reflected the pleasures and hardships of the common soldiers in camp and in battle; the daily life, the interests, and anxieties of friends and connections who remained at home; and finally the opinions of both classes on knotty points connected with the conduct of the war such as the treatment accorded to Vandalingham, the policy of emancipation, and the enlistment of negro soldiers.

Fifty years ago the average individual received few letters but such as were received were generally long, carefully written, and devoted in large part to matters of public interest. As a consequence, they were much more likely to be preserved than are the more numerous friendly letters of the present time. Many are the old homesteads in whose attics can be found boxes or trunks filled with such letters and with diaries and other papers. As time goes on and the individuals concerned pass away, there is frequently no good reason why such material as this should not be deposited in historical libraries where it will be arranged, preserved, and made accessible to investigators. Most of it, of course, is not worth publishing; much, probably, is not even worth calendaring; but all of it is worth preserving, and the exigencies of Amer-

ican life are such that it stands little chance of permanent preservation if it remains in private hands.

It is obvious that the mere preliminary work, collecting and preparing the material, for a social history of the Mississippi Valley will not be accomplished in a year or in a decade. There is so much to be done and its character is so varied that there is room for all the workers and all the institutions which are now in the field or can be attracted to it. I can not do better in conclusion than to quote a translation of the words with which Professor Lamprecht ended his paper on the *Historical Development and Present Character of the Science of History* at the International Congress of Arts and Sciences in St. Louis. "One thing" he said, "has been determined by these reflections — that the modern science of history has opened up for itself a vastly greater field of endeavor and conflict and that it will require thousands of diligent workers and creative minds to open up its rich and in many respects unknown regions, and to cultivate them successfully."

THE IOWA SCHOOL OF RESEARCH HISTORIANS

BY BENJ. F. SHAMBAUGH

Owing to some shifting of papers during the session, Mr. Shambaugh did not give a formal address, but talked informally on the spirit and methods of research as carried on by the Iowa School of Research Historians. First of all he called attention to the fact that during the last decade there had arisen in Iowa a group of research historians who were especially interested in State and local history. As belonging to this group, the speaker mentioned among others, Mr. John C. Parish, Mr. Louis Pelzer, Mr. Dan E. Clark, Mr. John E. Brindley, Mr. F. H. Garver, Mr. E. H. Downey, Mr. Kenneth W. Colgrove, Mr. Olynthus B. Clark, and Mr. Dwight G. McCarty.

It was pointed out, moreover, that the work of these men had for the most part been begun and carried on under the direction of The State Historical Society of Iowa at Iowa City. Indeed, the recent publications of The State Historical Society are to a considerable extent the product of these men. The spirit, scope, and method of their work were illustrated by reference to the monographs of Mr. Parish, Mr. Pelzer, and Mr. Brindley.

In conclusion, Mr. Shambaugh called attention to the fact that the aim of some of the more recent investigations of members of the Iowa School of Research Historians was to make practical application of investigations in State and local history in the solution of present-day political, social, and economic problems.

THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY AND INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS, 1825-1840

By R. B. WAX

In the period between 1817 and 1840 various attempts were made to inaugurate a national system of improved transportation in the United States. By 1832 such sectionalism had been displayed upon the question that little hope remained of the construction of any national system of land or water communication. By 1825 the completion and successful operation of the Erie Canal awakened the earnest efforts of almost every State and locality to inaugurate the construction of numerous projects. By 1840 the early railroads had so demonstrated their superiority over canals that a change occurred in the kind of transportation system advocated. In consequence the years 1825 to 1840 record the most important phases of the question of the development of American waterways as a national issue and the history of the various individual, State, and national efforts to perfect a complete inland water communication.

It is the purpose of this paper to account for the interests of the Mississippi Valley in internal improvements and to exhibit the influences within the Valley which operated for and against the establishment of any national system of intercommunication.

The migrations of the people affected directly the interest shown in improved transportation facilities. With the increased population of the Mississippi Valley, greater quantities of surplus productions sought outlet.

As surplus production arose in the various localities of the Mississippi Valley, the transportation problem

presented two aspects; first, the collection of the products at the centers of distribution of the several districts; second, the improvements in the facilities for their re-shipment to the exterior markets.

The obstacles to cheap, rapid, and safe transportation from the sea coast occasioned in the West high prices on eastern importation. An inability to find a cheap outlet for his products made it more and more impossible for the westerner to pay for eastern goods. The East, at the same time, sought more earnestly to ship their increasing European importations to the western buyers.

Two natural obstacles checked any endeavor of the East to develop an extensive domestic trade with the various sections of the Valley. The fall line, by marking the limit of river navigation to the Atlantic, determined the location of the eastern trade centers with which connection with the Mississippi Valley was sought. With the entrance of a large population into the uplands, the Piedmont Plateau, a considerable body of people of the mountains joined the Mississippi Valley in a demand for improved communication with the western tide-water. As the Piedmont district from Virginia to central Alabama became a staple producing belt, means were necessary for the sending of products of tobacco and cotton to the coast and for procuring supplies either from the coast across the pine barrens or from the north-west portion of the Mississippi Valley across the mountains.¹

Cut off from the seaboard by the Appalachian Mountains, the pioneer farmers of the Ohio Valley were long compelled to ship their surplus down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans around the coast and thence abroad or to the cities of the north. A farmer who brought his

¹ Phillips's *Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt*, Introduction; also *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. XIX, p. 435.

products to Pittsburg had to give a bushel and a half of wheat for a pound of coffee, a barrel of flour for a pound of tea, and twelve and a half barrels for a yard of superfine cloth.²

The several rivers of the Appalachian System — the Mohawk, Delaware, Susquehanna, Schuylkill, Potomac, and James — cross the ridges at right angles. The rivers of the northern Appalachians flow into the Atlantic or the Ohio, and the divide between them is often inconspicuous. They suggested artificial communication between them. The Delaware, Susquehanna, and the Potomac all rising west of the Alleghany Front, urged constantly the extension of their navigability nearer their sources and connection with the waters of the Hudson or Ohio system. After the War of 1812, the United States, economically a European Colony before, became a changed world.³ Europe, with peace, asserted her independence of American bread stuffs and shipping and by hostile laws sought to destroy the supremacy of the American merchant marine. To this loss of a foreign market America was in danger of losing her home market, as European vessels came hurriedly to America laden with English manufactures which undersold the American goods and created commercial havoc.⁴ The United States in consequence turned its attention to the upbuilding of its own industries and the transfer of its economic activities from the ocean and foreign commerce to the interior and internal trade.⁵

With our population in 1820 duplicating itself every twenty-five years while the European population was

² *Niles' Register*, Vol. XX, p. 180.

³ *The Works of Daniel Webster* (National edition), Vol. VI, p. 28.

⁴ *Rabbenas's American Commercial Policy*, p. 153; *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison*, Vol. III.

⁵ Callender's *The Early Transportation and Banking Enterprises of the States in Relation to the Growth of Corporations*, in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. XVII, p. 111.

doubling itself only every one hundred years, our capacity of production was to Europe's capacity of consumption as four to one. To devote a portion of our industry to the manufacture of goods from our greater production of raw products, it was seen that the agricultural and manufacturing areas of the United States must first be protected from the cheaper products of Europe, then by improved means of interior transportation to secure to these areas the cheapest, safest, and speediest transmission of their products to the various centers of demand.⁶ Thus Clay found an opportunity to associate the internal improvement question with that of the tariff.

The upper Mississippi Valley east of the river had been settled so that the frontier line in 1840 included the southeastern part of the Territory of Iowa, and the southern parts of Wisconsin and Michigan. Down the Ohio, along the Cumberland Road through the cities of Wheeling, Columbus, Indianapolis, and Vandalia, and via the Erie and the Great Lakes the settlers had come. With the Bonus bill of 1817 the whole movement of internal improvement legislation had begun and it related itself closely to the extension of New England, the middle regions and portions of the South into the Ohio Valley in the period of our study. The tone of thought is very well expressed by Calhoun in his great speech on the Bonus bill where he spoke of the nation as almost dangerously growing and expressed the great fear that he had of disunion which, next to the loss of liberty, was the greatest danger that could menace us, and the necessity of binding the Republic together with bonds of roads and canals so that an impulse at one edge of the Republic would be felt through the whole body politic. Calhoun stated the idea of a self-conscious, unified, national body politic in a way that no consolidationalist could possibly surpass. It is

⁶ Clay's speech of April 16, 1820, in *Annals of Congress*, 16th Congress, 1st session, Vol. II, p. 2035.

important to remember that the leader of the South, in the years following, was in 1817 the leading nationalist and that his nationalism was related to the West and the idea of keeping the Republic intact by the system of internal improvements.

In this same period occurred the occupation of the Gulf Plains and the establishment of a new Southwest. By 1840 we have the complete occupation, so far as two or more persons to the square mile is concerned, of the entire Southwest east of the Mississippi. This westward expansion was, however, decidedly different from that of the Northwest and marks the separation of the Mississippi Valley economically into distinct northern and southern halves. In this period the introduction of cotton culture into the uplands of the old South dispelled therefrom the free farmers and solidified the old South. The increased demand for cotton and the exhaustion of many fields in the older South and the cheaper lands of the newer region led to the filling in of the Gulf plains by Eastern planters or their overseers. By 1834 the new Southwest had distanced the older South in the production of cotton.⁷

This Southwest was, however, a westernized South. Here we had men investing, as in the Northwest, in western land as a speculation, sending their overseers out or going themselves to take advantage of the rich virgin soil. In the new region cotton raising became a business venture and the slaves were worked to pay. A new type of southerner thus arose, a more aggressive southerner with western push, coarseness and strength, which soon took the lead in shaping the policy of the South. Before 1840 we have the place of Virginia and the school of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe being taken by the "fire eaters" of this new South, and the Tennessee element,

⁷ McGregor's *Commercial Statistics*, p. 462; also Turner's *Rise of the New West*, p. 47.

a type midway between the Virginian and the "fire eater", under the leadership of Jackson and Polk in control of national affairs.

The spread of the cotton culture and the enormous profits therefrom stamped slavery permanently upon the whole South, united the people in its defense and made the entire South practically solid in its opposition to the tariff.⁸

Between 1825 and 1840 several surplus areas developed in the Mississippi Valley. The Blue Grass region of Kentucky finding after 1815 no near market for their surplus products wagoned them at much expense over rough roads to the Ohio and thence down to New Orleans.⁹ As the merchandise of the region had to pass the falls at Louisville the people were interested in the construction of a canal at that point. Turnpikes were planned in Kentucky to reach the navigable waters but much sectional jealousy was displayed thereover throughout the State.¹⁰ The eastern part of the Blue Grass region became interested in a road from Lexington to Maysville on the Ohio. This would connect with the famous Zane's Trace through central Ohio. It was Jackson's veto in 1831 of the bill authorizing national aid to this Maysville road which registered a permanent negative against all hopes of the establishment of any national system of internal improvements.

By 1838 Kentucky, however, had built nearly four hundred miles of macadamized roads and had two hundred and fifty more under contract. Of the three main routes completed one ran east and west from Maysville through Lexington to Louisville; a second, from Covington where it met the main lines northward from Cincin-

⁸ Turner's *Rise of the New West*, p. 49.

⁹ *Western Spy* (Cincinnati, Ohio), February 9, 1816, and March 22, 1816.

¹⁰ *The Reporter* (Lexington, Kentucky), April 1, 1818.

nati through Lexington to the Cumberland Gap; and the third, from Louisville via Greensburg to Nashville. Others intersected these at various points.¹¹

With the settlements in Ohio extending constantly farther inland into territory neither conveniently accessible to Lake Erie nor to the Ohio, internal improvements became more and more urgent. At the same time the merchants and farmers of the older sections were insisting more emphatically upon means of overcoming the expense and delays in transportation to and from the Atlantic seaboard and the Gulf. This insufficiency in transportation facilities caused the rise of manufacturing in the valley. To overcome the expense of securing goods from the East and furnish from the established non-agricultural communities a home market for the farmers' surplus, an effort was made to inaugurate manufacturing.¹² As this plan of establishing manufactures in the five great centers of settlements in the Ohio Valley — the Blue Grass region of Kentucky, the Muskingum Valley, the Miami Country, the Sciota Valley, and Pittsburg — succeeded, demands arose for connecting the up-country farmers with their manufacturing centers while the manufacturers continually sought a wider circle of purchasers.

The Sciota district of Ohio, seeking an outlet, became insistent upon the building of the Portsmouth-Cleveland canal and the Hocking Valley branch connecting with the National road and the Pennsylvania canal system leading to Philadelphia. In this they were sustained by New York State interests in their efforts toward securing the main line and by Pennsylvania in securing the branch.

The Miami Country with Cincinnati as its metropolis

¹¹ *Monthly Chronicle of Interesting and Useful Knowledge*, etc. (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1839), Vol. I, p. 4.

¹² Goodwin's *The Rise of Manufacturing in the Miami Country*, in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. XII, p. 768; Drake's *Pictures of Cincinnati*, p. 147; and Palmer's *Journal*, p. 72.

sought connection with the Great Lakes by the Miami Canal from the Ohio through Dayton to Toledo. In consequence the Sciota people were able to secure the passage of their canal bill in the State legislature only by placating the Miami interests with the Dayton canal. This Miami Country of southwestern Ohio was the corn and pork district which made Cincinnati the great packing house and stock-yard center of the Mississippi Valley long known as Porkopolis.¹³

This district with others of the upper Mississippi Valley leaped forward under the stimulus of a market for its surplus in the plantations of the South where the transformations already described, causing an almost exclusive cultivation of the great staples, resulted in a lack of food stuffs and live stock. In consequence, before 1830 the need of connection of the Ohio Valley and the southern seaboard by other means than the almost interminable and fitful Ohio and Mississippi rivers was felt. The scheme of building a railroad from Cincinnati to Louisville and on to Charleston and to Mobile was agitated.¹⁴ The people of the Tennessee River basin, the Nashville neighborhood, the Memphis district, Cincinnati, South Carolina, and Georgia were all interested in a railroad from the southeastern tide-water to the Tennessee River and on to Cincinnati; until the Knoxville Convention of 1836 convinced Georgia that Savannah was in danger of losing out to Charleston in the Charleston and Cincinnati project. A fierce rivalry between Savannah and Charleston ensued which delayed the consummation of the original plan and gave rise to several other railroad projects which caused Georgia to build to Chattanooga on direct line to Nashville and Cincinnati and gave the State by 1845 the best organized railway system

¹³ Turner's *Rise of the New West*, p. 97.

¹⁴ Phillips's *Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt*, pp. 261 ff.

in the country.¹⁵ Toombs, Alexander, Stephens and Calhoun in 1835 decided that the railroads should have an outlet to the West by way of Chattanooga and became rampant expansionists of the period.¹⁶

The Wabash Valley of western Indiana and eastern Illinois sought exit for its products and connection with eastern shippers by the building of the Wabash Erie Canal.¹⁷ St. Louis, Missouri, was the outlet for the lead and fur trade of the far West and a valuable Santa Fé trade in hides, tallows, and silver. Middle Tennessee needed a direct outlet to the Gulf by connection with the Mobile rivers.

Pitkin estimated that in 1835 the surplus products of the whole Mississippi Valley were worth thirty million dollars to which Ohio, Tennessee, Kentucky, Pittsburg, and Indiana contributed in the order named.¹⁸ While in 1830 twenty-six million dollars worth of produce were received at New Orleans, in 1841 the amount had increased to fifty millions, notwithstanding that the Ohio and New York canals drew much eastward.

As the increased use of the steamboat was making the Mississippi River system the highway of a commerce that reached the West Indies, the Atlantic Coast, Europe, and South America, the Mississippi Valley was becoming the most important industrial and political influence in American trade and politics.¹⁹ From a population of

¹⁵ Phillips's *Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt*, pp. 261 ff.

¹⁶ Slovall's *Life of Robert Toombs*, p. 401; Cleveland's *Alexander H. Stephens in Public and Private with Letters* (1866), pp. 605-621; Jameson's *Correspondence of Calhoun in the Annual Report of The American Historical Association*, 1899, Vol. II, p. 346.

¹⁷ Benton's *The Wabash Trade Route in the Development of the Old Northwest in Johns Hopkins University Studies*, Vol. XXI, p. 9.

¹⁸ Pitkin's *Statistical View of Commerce* (1835); see also Callender's *The Early Transportation and Banking Enterprises of the States in Relation to the Growth of Corporations in The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. XVII.

¹⁹ Turner's *The Significance of the Mississippi Valley in American*

one million in 1810 or one-seventh of the whole United States it had grown to over three and two-thirds millions or over one-fourth of the whole in 1830 and to over six millions, more than one-third of the entire United States, in 1840. The Mississippi Valley had become recognized as the great grain-producing and pasture land of the whole country.

The rival cities of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore made gigantic struggles with New Orleans to supply the West with goods ²⁰ and to receive its products. Even Norfolk, Charleston, Richmond, and Savannah made exertions to do the same. The visions of a great industrial empire and the coming of America's captains of industry awoke great sections to a rival struggle for this interior trade. Followers of Washington endeavored to consummate his plans to make the western trade seek its outlet in Virginia, thus enriching the Old Dominion in the thirties, the period of its decay. DeWitt Clinton, with better prospects, sought to attach the trade to New York and met with competitors in the men of Philadelphia and Baltimore. Calhoun and other leading Southerners sought to direct the trade to the ports of Georgia and South Carolina. Calhoun voiced his belief "that the success of a connection of the West is of the last importance to us commercially and politically." "I do verily believe", he continued, "that Charleston has more advantages in her position for the western trade than any city on the Atlantic, but to develop them we ought to look to the Tennessee instead of the Ohio and much farther to the West than Cincinnati or Lexington." Losing his nationalism of 1817 he sought in the advocacy,

History in the Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Vol. III, 1909-1910, p. 175; see also Garrison's *Westward Extension*, map opposite p. 18.

²⁰ Andrews's *Report on Colonial and Lake Trade* (1852); *Internal Commerce Report*, 1887.

later, both of the distribution of the surplus revenue and of the cession of the public lands to the States in which they lay, to promote the sectional interests of the South by an alliance of the West with southern trade interests and policies.

After 1825 New England²¹ slowly joined the middle region and the South in seeking commercial and political alliance with the land beyond the mountains. At the same time, we have seen that every important part of the rich Mississippi Valley began strenuously to urge interior connections together with intersectional communication with the other parts of the country. So vast, numerous, and interrelated were the projects that men of vision saw that the construction of such a net-work of improved transportation facilities was then beyond the possibilities of individual, corporate, or State action and feared for the union unless the fierce sectional rivalries engendered in the struggles for commercial control of the West could be dispelled. Clay's whole American system of legislation for internal improvements, the tariff, and the National Bank aimed to find a national solution for the question. Clay, conscious of the political strength of the Mississippi Valley in Congress, began with a reasonable expectation of success. While the census of 1810 gave New England forty-one, the Middle States fifty-eight, the South Atlantic sixty members in the House of Representatives and the West twenty-eight composed of nine from the Northwest and nineteen from

²¹ Farmer and Moore's *Gazetteer of New Hampshire* (1820), p. 14; *New Hampshire Patriot* (Concord), August 3, 1819; Hoskin's *History of Vermont*, p. 273; Allen's *History of Vermont in Vermont Historical Society Collections*, Vol. I, p. 467; Adams in Winsor's *Memorial History of Boston*, Vol. IV, p. 3; *New England Palladium*, January 13, 1826; *Worcester Society of Antiquity Collections*, Vol. I, p. 41, for the commercial isolation of the section from the West before 1825 and its exclusive concern with its own interior connections. See Turner's *Rise of the New West*, pp. 14 ff., for an account of the transformation in New England which interested the section in the West.

the Southwest; the census of 1820 had reduced New England's representation to thirty-nine, increased the Middle region to sixty-seven, kept the South at its old figure sixty, the West had increased to forty-seven with nineteen from the Northwest and twenty-eight from the Southwest; and the census of 1830 gave New England forty-six, the Middle States, eighty-three, the South Atlantic sixty, and the West had one hundred of which sixty-nine were from the Northwest and thirty-one from the Southwest.

The right plan for securing permanent Congressional support was, however, difficult to discover. The Congressional discussions of the Bonus bill in 1817 had disclosed the sectional jealousies of the States which might not be directly benefited. The amendment finally added provided for internal improvements in the States in ratio of their Federal representation and was thus a defeat of the original idea of a single national system.

The veto by Madison was complicated by politics. The State of New York would have derived the most benefit from the appropriations authorized by the bill. DeWitt Clinton, by his efforts for the Erie Canal, was then becoming a dangerous rival to the Virginian leaders of the Democratic party.²² Any assistance given to the canal project of New York would make it more difficult to thwart Clinton in his political aspirations. Moreover, the policy of the Virginia leaders was again coming under the control of State sovereignty.²³ Madison was honest in his objection to the appropriations of money for objects which he believed were not placed by the Constitution under the jurisdiction of the general government although he did sign bills appropriating money for the very same purposes. An amendment to the Constitu-

²² Renwick's *Life of DeWitt Clinton*, Vol. I, p. 223; Hammond's *Political History of New York*, Vol. I, p. 405.

²³ Turner's *Rise of the New West*, pp. 300-307.

tion never could be secured as Clay and the other friends of a national system of improvements would never admit the necessity of it nor trust the decision of the question to the uncertainty of a campaign for such an amendment.²⁴

The Constitutional question was thrashed out in Congress the next year, 1818. Clay, pressing for the building of the Chesapeake and Ohio canal connection of the Potomac with the West, held that the Constitution grew with the country and was not exclusively for the original thirteen States but must be constructed to include the country beyond the mountains.²⁵ New England and the South were then not willing to go so far. A series of test votes in the House of Representatives taken in March, 1818, gave a narrow majority in favor of the appropriation of money by Congress for internal improvements, the vote being 89 to 75;²⁶ but against the building of roads for postal and military purposes, the vote stood 81 for and 84 against;²⁷ on canals and roads for commerce, the vote was 71 for and 95 against;²⁸ and on canals for military purposes, the vote stood 81 for and 83 against.²⁹

The Cumberland Road bill of 1822 presented additional phases of the question to Congress. The road had been built to Wheeling and Congress had provided for surveys to the Mississippi. The Panic of 1819 had inter-

²⁴ *Annals of Congress*, 15th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. II, pp. 1166, 1285, 1287, 1360; *King's Life and Correspondence*, Vol. VI, p. 84.

²⁵ *Annals of Congress*, 15th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. II, p. 1362; compare with the speech at Lexington, Kentucky, June 23, 1816, in Mallory's *Life and Speeches of Clay*, Vol. I, pp. 262-267; *Clay's Works* (Federal Edition), Vol. IV, p. 83.

²⁶ *Annals of Congress*, 15th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. II, p. 1385. A careful counting of the names gives a vote of 89 for and 75 against, although the *Annals* incorrectly records it as 90 for and 75 against.

²⁷ *Annals of Congress*, 15th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. II, p. 1386.

²⁸ *Annals of Congress*, 15th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. II, p. 1387.

²⁹ *Annals of Congress*, 15th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. II, p. 1388.

rupted the work and the road had fallen into decay. The bill of 1822 involved the question of the right of the Federal government to exercise jurisdiction as well as construction in territory within the several States. The vote was decided by sectional interests not to be disguised by any constitutional arguments presented. The House passed the measure by a vote of 87 for and 68 against.³⁰ The regions tributary to the road in Pennsylvania and western Virginia and those along the line of the Potomac and Ohio were almost a unit in favor of the bill. New England, still opposed to internal improvements in general, gave a majority for the bill in the hope that the government's contributions to the road would cease. The opposition came mainly from New York, Pennsylvania and the South. After 1817 when New York lost the general government's support of the Erie Canal the State opposed the road for fear of the effect of its westward extension upon the business of the Erie.³¹ In Pennsylvania the Susquehanna area looking to Baltimore and the Pittsburg district, jealous of Wheeling and fearful of the diversion of its trade to Baltimore, opposed the bill.

Monroe's veto³² upon constitutional grounds marked a turning point in legislation for internal improvements. Assured by Monroe of a veto of all measures for building roads or canals, Congress thereafter took the suggestion given in his message and appropriated money or land or subscribed stock to the projects encouraging thereby State and joint stock company enterprises and

³⁰ *Annals of Congress*, 17th Congress, 1st Session, p. 1734.

³¹ *Annals of Congress*, 15th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 1657, 2540 ff.

³² *Annals of Congress*, 17th Congress, 1st Session, p. 1825; Richardson's *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. II, pp. 142-183; and Monroe's *Writings*, Vol. VI, p. 216, all contain Monroe's "Views on the Subject of Internal Improvements", accompanying the vote—the best presentation of the constitutional objections.

incidentally weakening the future chances for any national system.

With the West and Southwest practically solid in favor of internal improvements³³ new tactics were inaugurated upon the eve of a presidential campaign by the introduction of a general survey bill authorizing the President to cause surveys to be made for such roads and canals as were deemed of national importance. Before the surveys could be made and the Congressional program for applications could be determined upon, every representative district having a local project would be expectant of assistance. This appealing to all friends of any project carried the measure in the House by a vote of 115 for and 86 against.³⁴ Every section of the country except New England and the South gave a majority for it. The western and southern States, and the Mississippi Valley were unanimously in favor with a vote of 43.

The opposition was principally located in New England and in Virginia and less prominently in other parts of the South.³⁵ A comparison of the votes on the survey bill and the tariff of 1824 warranted the South's fear of a combination of all the advocates of internal improvements and the tariff. McDuffie of South Carolina, at the time a national man, favorable to internal improvements, sought an alliance of the West with the South and warned Clay that the tariff system would make the West tributary to the Atlantic States when the West "had more to

³³ The West itself had under the apportionment of 1822, forty-seven out of the two hundred thirteen members of the House of Representatives while in the Senate it had eighteen out of the forty-eight. — Turner's *Rise of the New West*, p. 71.

³⁴ *Annals of Congress*, 18th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, p. 1469.

³⁵ See Turner's *Rise of the New West*, p. 232, for map of House vote on this Survey Bill of February 10, 1824. In a study thereof, note in same work, p. 226, a map of Highways and Waterways in the United States, 1826-1830. Compare this map with map of votes on Tariff of 1824 in Turner's *Rise of the New West*, p. 242.

lose by alienating the friendship of the South as a system of internal improvements would facilitate the sale of the West's meat products to the South, than could be gained by a union with the manufacturing interests."³⁶

The House election of 1825 brought into the presidency one who gladly took up the campaign for the construction of a national system of internal improvements.³⁷ He boldly set forth "to dispel every speculative scruple by a practical blessing", feeling he said "convinced that it was from the inauguration of internal improvements that the unborn millions of our posterity, who are in the future ages to people this continent, will derive their most fervent gratitude to the founders of our Union".³⁸

The task which he took upon himself was, however, a most difficult one. Congress had registered in 1818 its belief in the constitutionality of improvements constructed by the national government and the General Survey Act of 1824 could scarcely be taken as an establishment of any system. It was rather the assertion of a willingness to utilize the government engineers in the examination of all projected schemes. To the President was given the impossible task of distributing this new patronage and from the engineers' reports of deciding what measures were of national importance in such a manner as to be pleasing to a permanent majority in Congress. At the first authorization of specific surveys most violent charges were made of favoritism being shown by the President.³⁹

At the same time events were occurring which

³⁶ *Annals of Congress*, 18th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, p. 618, quoted in Turner's *Rise of the New West*, p. 240.

³⁷ Adams's *Memoirs*, Vol. VII, p. 59; Wheeler's *History of Congress*, Vol. II, p. 154, 155, 157.

³⁸ Richardson's *Messages and Papers*, Vol. III, p. 299. (Inaugural Address of March 4, 1825.)

³⁹ *Congressional Debates*, Vol. III, pp. 1267-1333.

strengthened the opposition to any national system of transportation. New York in general became opposed to any improvement which would divert trade from the Erie Canal while the numerous State projects in New York advocated by different sections of the State were causing increased animosity against the selfish Erie Canal counties. Pennsylvania in the furthering of the building of its vast State works was meeting with many financial difficulties. The heavy grades to be surmounted made their system much more expensive than in New York, while sections within the State, perceiving no benefits to be derived by them in the projects, were opposed. In the construction the work was begun with isolated schemes which did not total a system. The corruption and log-rolling used in securing the passage of the measures in the State legislature engendered permanent disagreements and decreased the number in the State who could longer uphold efforts to secure a national system by such means. Those outside of the State, observing the disgraceful scenes in Pennsylvania, as well as elsewhere, became in time more convinced that a national system was not feasible.

The President, however, was conscious that every part of the country in 1825 was interested in improved transportation and he believed it possible to unite the forces sufficiently to carry out a Federal system of improvements. Realizing that considerable portions of the South were anxious for connection with the Mississippi Valley, he sought to win them to his plans by assurance of his lack of interest in the tariff.⁴⁰ His first annual message was, however, too nationalistic for the South.⁴¹ From thenceforth he lost the chance of securing the Crawford

⁴⁰ Adams's *Memoirs*, Vol. VI, pp. 365, 451; Vol. VIII, p. 444; Stanwood's *History of the Presidency*.

⁴¹ Tyler's *Life and Times of Tyler*, Vol. I, pp. 361, 385, 386; Jefferson's *Writings* (Ford Edition), Vol. I, p. 378.

men in Virginia and Ritchie of the *Richmond Enquirer* began his long series of attacks.⁴²

Madison quieted Jefferson's fears by a correct analysis of the influences which would defeat the nationalists by causing States to unite in "combating the exercise of powers which must not only", he said, "interfere with their local jurisdiction, but expend vast sums of money for which their share of the benefit would not be proportional to their share of the burden". He recalled the fact that the New England congressmen had never been united on national roads and canals, and expressed his belief that most of the administration's New England projects would be found impractical or unwise. As States perfected their own improvements he counted correctly on a reduction in their interest in the prosecution of others by the use of the national revenue.⁴³

The President persisted in his view trusting that his appeals to the West and those interested in western connections would win. The appeals of private corporations and State enacted projects were listened to. These all weakened the Federal policy of a national system.

The practice of making land grants in aid of canals was established by the passage of the Indiana-Wabash and the Illinois-Michigan canal bills on February 14, 1827. The nation in reality made a cash loan to the States since the lands were sold by the States and the money was used for making the improvements. Constitutionally this system of land grants met more nearly the approval of the strict constructionists who opposed Monroe's plan of appropriating money for the improvements. Southerners, as well as westerners, believed that the public lands in the States should become the property of the States as soon as the States were admitted into the

⁴² *Richmond Enquirer*, December 8, 10, 13, 15, 1825; January 10, 17, 1826, et seq.

⁴³ James Madison's *Letters*, Vol. III, p. 490. (December 28, 1825).

Union.⁴⁴ The South was, however, by no means a unit in favor of either donation or cession of the public lands to the States, as Cobb of Georgia and Tyler of Virginia are found, in 1828, to be opposed to both plans.⁴⁵ As late as January 25, 1833, Calhoun said ⁴⁶ that he "could not assent to the principle that Congress had the right to denationalize the public lands". The plan of land grants was an attempt of the administration party to satisfy the demand of the Northwest and Southwest wherein the unsold lands were situated and the necessity was felt for outside assistance for their internal improvements. Yet the desire of the Federal government to secure increased revenue from the sale of the lands which it retained continued the central authority as a land owner in the different States and so incompletely satisfied the advocates of State sovereignty. The system of the gift of the alternate sections of public lands became the precedent for similar grants for the railroads and occasioned a vast amount of dissatisfaction.⁴⁷

From the beginning of Adams's administration to the close of the period of this study the public land question was closely connected with that of internal improvements. By 1826 the feeling in the North and Southwest had grown that the policy of holding the land for sale at \$1.25 per acre irrespective of its quality was hindering emigration to the new States and preventing the population from reaching the density at which internal improvements could be made without too heavy taxation. Benton proposed, therefore, in the Senate, a bill for the sale of the lands at a graduated price and the reduction of the price

⁴⁴ *Congressional Debates*, Vol. III, p. 43; Vol. IV, p. 678.

⁴⁵ *Congressional Debates*, Vol. IV, p. 659.

⁴⁶ *Congressional Debates*, Vol. IX, Part I, p. 234.

⁴⁷ See Sanborn's *Railroad Land Grants*, in *University of Wisconsin Bulletin No. 30*, pp. 1-62; also Haney's *Congressional History of Railroads in the United States to 1850* in *University of Wisconsin Bulletin No. 211*, pp. 327 ff.

of the lands unsold after three years.⁴⁸ Governor Ninian Edwards of Illinois in 1826 favored the graduation bill.⁴⁹ By 1828 he had advanced to a most insistent advocacy of the surrender of the public lands to the States in which they lay.⁵⁰ The State was then in the midst of the campaign to secure funds for the building of the Illinois-Michigan canal. In the governor's messages of 1828⁵¹ and 1830⁵² he denied the right of the United States to exercise any authority over any territory within a State.

Hendricks of Indiana moved in the Senate on December 20, 1827,⁵³ and again in January, 1828,⁵⁴ the cession of the public lands to the States. Many in the Northwest and Southwest then favored it. The New England and the Middle States with a strong element in the old South opposed the scheme.⁵⁵

The opponents of the plan of the cession of the lands were also much self-centered in their opposition although appearing, doubtless, somewhat truthfully to represent a broader view of the powers of the general government. It was claimed that the public lands had been ceded to the United States under a compact that the proceeds therefrom were to be used in the payment of the public debt.⁵⁶ Representatives of the South, such as Martin, Haynes, and Calhoun, held to this position beyond the period of Adams's administration, and even opposed all propositions for the distribution of the funds from the sales. New England and an element in the Middle States are found to be tenacious in their claims upon the public

⁴⁸ See Report by Committee on Public Lands to House of Representatives, in *American State Papers*, Vol. V, p. 88.

⁴⁹ *Illinois House Journal* (1826-1827), p. 53.

⁵⁰ *Illinois House Journal* (1828-1829), pp. 12-39.

⁵¹ *Illinois House Journal* (1828-1829), pp. 39 ff.

⁵² *Illinois House Journal* (1830-1831), pp. 15-50.

⁵³ *Congressional Debates*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 15.

⁵⁴ *Congressional Debates*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 151.

⁵⁵ *Congressional Debates*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. 166, 659, 675 ff.

⁵⁶ *Congressional Debates*, Vol. VI, Part I, p. 484.

lands, and opposed to the attempts to wrest from the older States "their undoubted rights and sap the foundation of the compact by which the old and new States were held together." The debts incurred by their internal improvement works made Pennsylvania and other States determined to insist that the public lands were for the benefit of all.⁵⁷

As early as May 20, 1826, however, the South had men who, being opponents of both Clay and Adams and their national system of improved transportation, sought to embarrass the administration in the West by advocating the cession of the public lands in the States at the time when the central government desired to continue the public land system, not only for the revenue but to satisfy their friends in the New England and Middle States.⁵⁸ Parties were not yet lined up solidly upon any measure regarding the disposition of the public lands. While the Adams men met with opposition in the West because their proposition of land grants did not go far enough, the Southern opponents did not solidly oppose the measure, and were not ready to take up as a party issue any more favorable policy. In fact, Madison had as early as 1817 committed himself to the plan of applying the funds received from the sale of lands to internal improvements.⁵⁹

While the Jacksonian party was in no sense a unit upon either the question of the public lands or internal improvements in the campaign of 1828, the Benton wing of the party did make the press say that the Jacksonian party, favoring the graduation bill, if victorious, would secure the distribution of the public lands among the western people. This promise, coming at the time when

⁵⁷ Report of Committee on Public Lands, February 26, 1829, in *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. V, pp. 328 ff. The report was opposed to division of the lands among the States and favored distribution of net proceeds.

⁵⁸ *Congressional Debates*, Vol. II, p. 782.

⁵⁹ Madison's *Letters*, Vol. III, p. 49. (October 24, 1817).

Edwards of Illinois, Hendricks of Indiana, Reed of Mississippi, King of Alabama, and many others were advocating the cession of the lands, was an artful way of outbidding Adams for the support of the West.

The firm insistence of leading opposition papers in 1827 that Adams was advocating a general system of improvements for political purposes, and had no intention of recommending any particular public work, for fear it would bring sectional interests in collision with each other,⁶⁰ may have made him more insistent upon direct support of the Chesapeake and Ohio canal project. Certainly this canal became Adams's favorite project, despite the opposing counsels of Barbour and Clay.⁶¹ Clay told him that the project was impractical for when executed it would be of little use as it could not divert the trade of the western country from New York and Pennsylvania and there was little interest felt in it anywhere — none in the western country generally. The enthusiasm in Maryland, Virginia, and the District of Columbia for the canal was soon dissipated.⁶² The engineering difficulties to be overcome made the cost almost prohibitive.⁶³ The conflict of interests in Maryland continued. Baltimore, having turnpike connections with the Cumberland Road, was sharing with Philadelphia the wagon trade to the Ohio. The city was unwilling to allow the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, by connecting her rival cities on the Potomac with the West, to secure an advantage. The conflicting local interests of Washington and Georgetown occasioned other difficulties. Then Baltimore became in-

⁶⁰ *United States Telegraph*, March 7, May 9, and June 7, 1827; *Richmond Enquirer*, March 7, 1826.

⁶¹ Adams's *Memoirs*, Vol. VIII, p. 191.

⁶² See Ward's *The Early Development of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Project* in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, Vol. XVII.

⁶³ Ward's *The Early Development of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Project*, in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, Vol. XVII, p. 513; Turner's *Rise of the New West*, pp. 290, 291.

terested in the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, a rival of the canal.⁶⁴

While the administration papers were attempting to uphold boldly a great national system containing projects asserted to be local by their opponents, trusting for the success of the system in the fact that all sections would be recipients of favors from the completed plans, the Jacksonian party was cleverly isolating the separate measures from the system and wisely favoring the ones most demanded by the sections whose support they needed. By drawing the administration on in its advocacy of measures denounced by such States as New York and Pennsylvania the votes of those States were won by Jackson.

Ohio began in earnest her State system of canals connecting the Ohio with Lake Erie.⁶⁵ Desirous of Congressional land grants, bills to that effect were introduced in Congress by both Adams and Jackson men. Each party pushed its own bill in Congress, one making a grant to the Cleveland-Portsmouth Canal and the other to the Miami Canal. Fearing that the other party would secure the credit, both bills were passed and Ohio received double the amount originally asked.⁶⁶

While the opponents were endeavoring to break the ranks of the supporters of internal improvements, Adams by his bold statements of the doctrine of loose construction in his early messages alienated the part of the

⁶⁴ Adams's *Memoirs*, Vol. VIII, p. 32; Reizenstein's *The Economic History of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad (1827-1853)* in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, Vol. XV, p. 13; Adams's *Memoirs*, Vol. VIII, p. 453; Parton's *Jackson*, Vol. III, pp. 95, 110-116; Hulbert's *Historic Highways*, Vol. XIII, pp. 69 et seq; Mills's *Treatise on Inland Navigation*.

⁶⁵ Morris's *Internal Improvements in Ohio* in the *Papers of the American Historical Association*, Vol. III, p. 107; McClelland and Huntington's *Ohio Canals*.

⁶⁶ *Congressional Debates*, Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 2737, 2741; *House Journal*, 20th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 188, 281, 611, 777, 779, 780; Benton's *Abridgements*, Vol. X, pp. 190, 193, 197, Note.

South inclined at first to favor him. The whole slaveholding South, including the southern part of the Mississippi Valley, began to fear that the President's loose construction doctrine would enable Congress to free every slave.⁶⁷

The new States of the Northwest and Southwest, having no authority over the primary distribution of the public lands and no power to tax them until they became private property, disliked the presence of the Federal government among them in the capacity of a great landlord and untaxed proprietor.⁶⁸ With the desire of the western people to own their own lands went an increasing desire for cheap lands easily acquired. The wonderful success of the Erie system made the States impatient to build their own canals and replace the national government as either owner or controller of interstate transportation facilities.

In consequence of the wonderful growth in Illinois in the period from 1833 to 1837,⁶⁹ a State system of improvements was authorized by the legislature in 1837, and 1,350 miles of railroads and many canals were arranged for with cash bonuses to all parts of the State not directly benefited by either projected canals or railroads.⁷⁰ As has been said the scheme provided for the improvement of every stream in the State on which a child's shingle boat could sail.⁷¹ The State debt reached fourteen millions as a result of the ruinous policy. Indiana in 1836 by the "Mammoth" act initiated its elab-

⁶⁷ McMaster's *History of the United States*, Vol. V, p. 204; Ames's *State Documents on Federal Relations*, No. 5, p. 11.

⁶⁸ Sato's *History of the Land Question in the United States* in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, Vol. IV, p. 153; Meigs's *Benton*, pp. 165-172.

⁶⁹ See Pooley's *Settlement of Illinois, 1830-1850*, in *University of Wisconsin Bulletin*, pp. 475 ff.

⁷⁰ Moses's *Illinois*, Vol. I, p. 411. The map in this work, p. 410, indicates projects. Ford's *History of Illinois*, pp. 181-199.

⁷¹ Putnam's *Illinois-Michigan Canal* in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. XVII, pp. 272 ff.

orate system which likewise proved ineffective other than to involve the State in debt.⁷²

Jackson in his first annual message proposed that the general government should abandon the question and distribute the surplus revenue among the Commonwealths proportional to their representation in Congress, leaving them to spend the money upon the improvements as they saw fit. In the first years of his administration various attempts are made to reach a conclusion regarding the disposition of the public lands.⁷³ Before the party lines could be fixed regarding the question, the passage of the Maysville Road bill in 1831 gave Jackson his chance to turn a sharp corner upon the friends of a national system of internal improvements by vetoing a local project and satisfying the South in his expressions of his belief in strict construction.⁷⁴ Considering most of the appropriations made unfairly distributed, he asserted that over ninety-six million dollars would be necessary to complete the works planned and that such an expenditure was unwarranted. If made, the unfair distribution of the funds would occasion much irritation, questionable combinations and sinister influences in Congress. Instead he advised the distribution of the surplus.⁷⁵

In the meantime the southern leaders were trying to decide upon a plan regarding the disposal of the public lands in such a way as to enable the West to build their own roads and canals and form a union with the South. Forced to show his hand in the hope of breaking up the union of the eastern and western States, Clay reported adversely on April 16 to both a reduction of the price

⁷² See Benton's *The Wabash Trade Route in the Development of the Old Northwest in Johns Hopkins University Studies*, Vol. XXI.

⁷³ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. V, p. 328; *Congressional Debates*, Vol. VI, Part I, pp. 479, 489; Vol. VI, p. 540.

⁷⁴ Richardson's *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. II, pp. 490 ff.

⁷⁵ Richardson's *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. II, p. 514.

of the lands and their cession. He did, however, endeavor to satisfy the West, while complying with the wishes of the East, by recommending that the revenue from the public lands after deducting 15% as a dividend for the States in which they lay, be divided for five years among all the States.⁷⁶ Jackson through Secretary McLane's report of December, 1831, recommended, instead, that the proceeds from the lands be apportioned among the States.⁷⁷

At the time Calhoun, equally desirous of cementing a union between the West and the South, was not in agreement with Benton and Haynes's plan of accomplishing it. He believed Haynes's project of giving the lands away would unsettle at once the whole landed property of the United States.⁷⁸ At the same time he "did not approve of Webster's plan of doling the lands away by titles to the people, thus constituting a great gambling fund for corrupt speculation." In a most interesting conversation, Calhoun in 1831 disclosed his hopes of forming alliances which would eventually place him in the presidency. Reviewing the interests of the North, South, and West, he expressed his belief that they could be reconciled. He saw that the West, (and this included the Southwest) interested in the distribution of the lands and internal improvements, must have some visible appropriations to counterbalance those modes for the improvement of harbors and fortifications of the Atlantic States.⁷⁹ Calhoun said he "would therefore gratify them with a system of internal improvements." He proposed to amend the Constitution so as to make the proceeds from the public lands the funds to be set apart for that

⁷⁶ *Congressional Debates*, Vol. VIII, p. 638; Appendix, pp. 112-118.

⁷⁷ *Congressional Debates*, Vol. VIII, Appendix, p. 20.

⁷⁸ *The American Historical Review*, Vol. VI, pp. 741-744. Memorandum of a conversation with J. H. Hammond, March 18, 1831.

⁷⁹ See *Congressional Debates*, Vol. V, p. 62, for Benton's exhibition of jealousy of West of East's appropriations.

purpose. Calhoun then outlined the connections to be made between the South and the Mississippi Valley.⁸⁰

Clay, discerning as early as 1826 the trend of thought in the West, told his friends in Congress to arrest the movement for a national system of improvements,⁸¹ and to refrain from aiding any new work.⁸² After a fitful struggle his bill for the distribution of the proceeds from the sale of the public lands became a law on September 4, 1841.⁸³

In the midst of the events described the belief was growing stronger that the business of building transportation facilities should be left to private initiative. Another important factor in the dispelling of all hopes of the establishment of a national canal system was the entrance of the railroad into the list of means by which the transportation difficulties of the country could be solved. The Mohawk and Hudson Railroad, the parent of the New York Central system, was begun in 1825. In 1827 the Boston and Albany Railroad was surveyed thus preparing for the Boston line which finally reached Chicago, and enabled Boston to get into the contest for western trade. The South early accepted the new transportation system and showed great enterprise in the projection of railroads which were abundantly adequate for the needs, but financial distress and the appearance of the Civil War prevented much construction work from being done.

The defeat of all attempts to establish a national canal system freed the country from the adoption of the federal ownership of the railroads when they displaced the canals. With the establishment of the State systems

⁸⁰ *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, Vol. II, 1899, pp. 349, 353, 363, 381, 412, 423, 430, 431, 445, 494. See Calhoun's *Correspondence* for enthusiastic letters from Calhoun on southern railroad routes (1835-1839).

⁸¹ *The American Historical Review*, Vol. VI, pp. 741-744.

⁸² *Tyler's Life and Letters of Tyler*, Vol. I, p. 602.

⁸³ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 453.

of improvements the States became borrowers of English as well as American capital. The innumerable projects intensified the spirit of inflation in the West. The reckless extension of projects beyond all possible demand brought on the crisis of 1837 and its consequent repudiation of the State debts. The rise of private corporations and the States' belief in the policy of granting public lands for their aid, brought other problems for solution. The improvement of the internal river communication, however, being unchecked has been an increasing source of extravagance and waste through the operation of the river and harbor appropriation bills down to the present time.

WERE THE OUTAGAMI OF IROQUOIS ORIGIN

BY N. H. WINCHELL

There is no Indian tribe of the Northwest whose history is more picturesque, and whose fate was more tragic and melancholy than that of the Outagami, well known as the Fox tribe. While their history was mainly written in Wisconsin, it involved at times parts of Minnesota, Iowa, and Illinois. It is not the design of this paper to recount anything which pertains to their history since their arrival in Wisconsin, but rather to call attention to some peculiarities of that history, and to note some evidences that they were allied to the Iroquois stock, which expanded in New York and extended its power over several adjacent States.

It is well known that the Outagami are very commonly considered of Algonquian connection. This opinion is doubtless due to the pronouncement of Schoolcraft based on the fact that they were affiliated with the Sauk and, within historic time, spoke the language of the Sauk, which itself was "a difficult Algonquian dialect". Since Schoolcraft's researches, however, several facts have come to light which tend to throw doubt on his statements as to the Algonquian origin of the Outagami. And it is interesting to recall that some of these facts Mr. Schoolcraft himself has published. It can not be questioned that the Outagami have shown in all their linguistic characteristics, so far as studied, a rather close affinity with the Sauk; but all recent studies of the language of the Outagami are specially liable to some confusion with the original language of the Sauk, because the Outagami, having been almost annihilated by the Ojibwa in 1777,

were absorbed into the Sauk tribe, and began to be transformed, language and all, into that tribe. To what extent the languages of these two tribes were different, prior to that amalgamation, it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to determine, but it is evident that modern linguistic studies of the tribe are subject to considerable error unless they take into consideration the influence of the Sauk after their absorption into that tribe.

The consideration of the question whether the Fox were of other than Algonquian origin was prompted by researches, carried on by the writer, into the archeology of the Indians of Minnesota, which brought to light certain anomalous facts, the explanation of which involved an investigation of some features of the aborigines of Wisconsin. There are certain Iroquoian features pertaining to some of the pottery fragments found in the State and in Wisconsin, as well as on the shores of Lake Superior which suggest that the dominion of the Iroquois has not been fully understood. Within historic time the events of Iroquoian history are well known. What may have been the events of the prehistoric Iroquoian dynasty we can not learn with certainty. We can only follow the indications of tradition and archeology.

When Cartier visited the St. Lawrence valley in 1535 he found a tribe at Montreal that spoke the Iroquoian tongue, but when Champlain visited the same place in 1615 he learned that only Algonquian people were in possession. This shows that even as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century the Algonquians were moving resistlessly westward and that some Iroquoian people had been displaced. It is useless to inquire who were the Iroquois that were thus displaced or whither they went. We may be quite sure, however, that they moved westward, and that they did not settle in a country possessed by the Algonquian.

The earliest recorded fact which I can find respect-

ing the Fox Indians is attributable to Schoolcraft as quoted by Shea,¹ to the effect that the Outagami were originally from the vicinity of Toronto, and according to the "Recollections" of Augustin Grignon² they came from the region of Niagara Falls. If this be accepted as their former habitat, they were in that country which in general was occupied by Iroquois, or Huron-Iroquois people. The Hurons and the Tobacco nations were to the north and west of them. The Neutral Nation dwelt to the southwest, the Eries to the south and southeast, while toward the east and northeast roamed the fierce and dreaded Iroquois proper. It would be a very anomalous place for an Algonquian tribe, and if they were not Algonquian they must have been some portion of the "Neutral Nation". If they were Algonquian we would hardly expect that they would have been expelled by other Algonquians.

When in 1649 the Iroquois forces expelled the Huron from their pristine homes, and in 1650 treated the Neutrals in the same way although these were kindred peoples, and also later attacked the Eries and the Andastes, sweeping away nearly all the peoples that were neighbors to them, it is plain that, if the Outagami people, whether Algonquian or Iroquois, were then residents at Niagara Falls or in that region, they could not have escaped the fury of that continuous onslaught, and must have fled, along with other fugitives, toward the west.

In the great hegira of fugitives from the murderous attacks of the Iroquois, all the tribes of the region of the Great Lakes were either active or passive participants, while those who had been located nearest the Iroquois

¹ *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol. III, pp. 136, 137.

² *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol. III, p. 265.

were compelled to make long pilgrimages or suffer extermination. The route by way of the Great Lakes was chosen by those who escaped. Some stopped in Michigan, but many continued to Wisconsin, and, after reaching the extremity of Green Bay, settled in the immediate vicinity or pursued their flight up the tributary rivers, the Hurons going as far as the Mississippi River, and the western extremity of Lake Superior.

The Menominee first appear in history on the western shore of Green Bay, the Pottawattami on the islands at the mouth of Green Bay and near Milwaukee,³ and the Fox on the east side of Green Bay at the "red banks". They called themselves "Musquakee", or "red earth people", a name doubtless derived from the color of the clay which forms a conspicuous exposure of the drift at that place. The name "Outagami" is a Menominee word which means "those who live on the opposite shore", i. e. on the shore opposite the residence of the Menominee.

The Outagami were driven from the "red banks" by the Menominee and their allies and moved southwardly up the river which now bears their name (Fox), and thenceforward their important participation in the early history of Wisconsin is well known.

There are certain striking peculiarities in the character and history of the Outagami to which every thoughtful student's attention is directed. As a people they were like the Iroquois — restless, warlike, ambitious, and unscrupulous in making and in breaking treaties. Their career in the Northwest resembled that of the Iroquois in New York, excepting only that it met with ignominious defeat instead of success. After their removal west-

³ The Pottawattami were temporarily at Sault Ste. Marie, in flight from the Sioux, when first mentioned by the Jesuit relations, at a date somewhat earlier (1639) but it appears that they returned to their own country for they were found by La Salle's parties in the vicinity of Milwaukee in 1679.

ward from Canada they were constantly at war with the French, like the Iroquois, and were friendly with the English. They made warlike incursions against the Ojibwa and against the Illinois, as did the Iroquois, and in their greatest final battle for supremacy in Wisconsin (1777), when they were nearly annihilated by the Ojibwa, they had the aid of the Ojibwa's greatest foe — the Sioux. It seems a remarkable exception that, of all the supposed "Algonquian" tribes, the French waged a war of extermination against only the Outagami. It may be that, at the commencement of hostilities between the French and the Outagami, the French were dealing with a people more like the Iroquois than like the Ojibwa. Again, according to an old tradition⁴ the Outagami were driven from their homes at the "red banks", on the east side of Green Bay by a combination of Menominee, Ojibwa, Pottawattami and Ottawa, all Algonquian tribes. According to another tradition, when the general movement westward from Sault Ste Marie took place, the well known Algonquian people were associated and described in one group, viz: Ojibwa, Menominee and Pottawattami, and the route pursued by each is in general marked out. With this Algonquian group the Outagami are not mentioned, nor are the Sauk. But it is reasonable to suppose that the Outagami were an alien people, and it is known that the Sauk stopped first in central southern Michigan, not having been close associates with the other Algonquian people. It was affirmed by the Ojibwa that the Outagami did not belong to the Algonquian council fires,⁵ speaking a distinct language, which they gave up for the language of the Sauk only when they became closely associated with that tribe after their various misfortunes. In the

⁴ *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol. II, p. 491.

⁵ Warren's *History of the Ojibways* in the *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, Vol. V, p. 247.

New York colonial documents ⁶ is a French memoir on the Indians of the western country in which is a statement that the languages of the Ottawa and the Outagami were so different that "an Ottawa interpreter would be of no use with the Outagami"; that is to say, that an Algonquian interpreter could not understand the language of the Outagami.

Besides these differences of language and of geographical habitat, as compared with the Ojibwa and other Algonquian people, and besides the affinities of the Outagami in their warlike habits and alliances with the Iroquois and the English, instead of with the Ojibwa and the French, there is still a more marked difference separating the Outagami from the Algonquian people. Late studies have enabled us to point out, with considerable accuracy, who are the descendants of the "mound builders". This result of archeological study in America has been considerably delayed because of the geographical direction along which archeological research has been carried on in America. Except the Iroquois of New York the people with whom the whites came in contact, in the regions east of the Mississippi, were almost entirely of Algonquian stock. The Algonquian were not mound builders. The Iroquois were mound builders. As a result of this prevalence of the Algonquian stock the whites could get no information concerning the origin of the mounds of the Ohio Valley region, and Messrs. Squier and Davis assigned them to an extinct people whose origin and whose fate were equally unknown and unascertainable. It was only after making personal investigations in the western part of New York that Mr. Squier reached the conclusion that the mounds found there were the work of the Iroquois, or of some of their kindred. This opened the way to the assignment

⁶ *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. IX.

of the similar mounds of northern Ohio and southern Michigan to the Eries, the Neutral Nation and to the Tobacco Nation, all of whom, as has been stated, were kindred of the Iroquois.

Excluding the Dakota, who had a separate and different history, of all the Indian tribes of the Northwest the Outagami were the only mound builders.⁷ There was a mound, as well as a fortified earthen fort, at the "red banks", where the Outagami first stopped in Wisconsin. There are mounds in every place where the Outagami are known to have rested for some length of time. That these can not all be referred to the Winnebago (a Dakota tribe) is proved by the existence of mounds in regions where the Winnebago have never been, but where the Outagami are known to have remained for many years. It is probably true that the Dakota extended their dominion at first over much of northern and north-central Wisconsin, and to them it has been reasonable to assign the earthworks found in Barron and Sawyer counties and southward; but those mounds that occur further southeast, when not referable to the Winnebago may be attributed, in whole or in part, to the Outagami. As a class therefore they should be separated from the mounds of the Winnebago. They are probably inferior to those of the Winnebago, as they are also probably much younger. It remains for the future to ascertain what, if any, distinctive characteristics can be depended on to identify the mounds of the Outagami.

It has already been stated that there are certain Iroquoian characters stamped on some of the potsherds of Minnesota, and that that fact prompted the investigation of some of the tribes of Wisconsin, where similar Iro-

⁷ There is some evidence that the Cheyenne when resident in southwest Minnesota also built mounds. This, if true, was doubtless but partial, and must have been due to the influence of contact with the tribes of the Dakota stock by whom they were nearly surrounded.

quoian features occur in the potsherds. These have been fully described by Dr. Gerend in Volume IV of the *Wisconsin Archeologist* — although without identifying the Iroquoian characteristics — and have been emphasized elsewhere by the writer.⁸ If we allow that the Outagami were of Iroquoian origin (i. e. one of the constituent tribes embraced in, or coequal with, the term “Neutral Nation”), it is apparent at once that the Outagami were responsible for these features; and this coincidence of presumed cause and known effect affords a strong argument for an affirmative answer to the question — “*Were the Outagami of Iroquois origin?*”

In conclusion it may be well to recapitulate succinctly the reasons for believing that the Outagami were of Iroquoian stock:

1. They came from a locality in Canada where they were surrounded by people of Iroquoian stock.
2. They spoke a language which could not be understood by an Ottawa interpreter.
3. They fought uniformly against the French and their Algonquian allies.
4. They made friendly alliance with the English and their Iroquoian allies.
5. Their disposition and aggressive wars on all their neighbors were like those of the Iroquois.
6. They were mound builders, thus resembling the Iroquois, and contrasting with all Algonquian tribes.
7. Characteristics of Iroquoian pottery have been found in Wisconsin in those places where the Outagami are known to have dwelt for long periods of time.

⁸ Winchell's *The Aborigines of Minnesota*.

EARLY HARBOR HISTORY OF WISCONSIN

BY R. G. PLUMB

The State of Wisconsin contains many of the most important harbors of the Great Lakes. Within its boundaries at sixteen different points the United States government has undertaken improvement, and there are, besides, numerous bays and coves, where improvements of a purely local nature have been made by individuals. The sixteen government harbors are at Kenosha, Racine, Milwaukee, Port Washington, Sheboygan, Manitowoc, Two Rivers, Kewaunee, Sturgeon Bay, Green Bay, Pensauee, Oconto, Marinette, Ashland, and Superior. There is also the harbor at Bayfield, that enjoys the distinction of being one of the few where engineering skill was not required to aid Nature and where artificial improvement, beyond a few private docks, was totally unnecessary, since deep water extended up to the very docks.

The participation of the national government in the construction of harbor improvements is a matter of historical development. As such it is but a subsidiary phase of the general history of internal improvements, and is marked by the gradual augmentation of national power, due partly to legislative action and partly to judicial construction. It was a fundamental English doctrine that rivers and bays were the king's property and this theory the American Colonies adopted, going so far as to claim the right to lease streams and inlets. By the Articles of Confederation Congress was given no power over navigation so that the control of the separate colonies continued. It was the inequality of the tonnage dues under this system that was one of the chief causes leading to the adop-

tion of the Federal Constitution, wherein Congress was given the power to control foreign and domestic commerce. The clause conferring this power is the basis of all harbor legislation, although as an incident of this power Congress did not immediately assume the improvement of even the ocean harbors. That there was a substance and a latent force to the clause, however, is shown by the fact that as soon as the Constitution was adopted, the States applied to Congress for permission to levy tonnage duties, acts which they had hitherto performed independently. The proceeds gained by this and other means enabled the States to undertake ill-planned and worse-executed systems of internal improvement. Most of the funds thus applied were, however, devoted to roads, canals, and rivers, while harbors received little recognition.

Mere state authority could not indeed long meet the requirements of an expanding people. By a series of legal refinements and complicated distinctions the national system insinuated itself into active being. The first national turnpike had been built in 1807, the first national canal in 1812, and finally in 1822 an act providing for the first appropriation for a harbor was passed by Congress. Prior to this there had been bills "for the maintenance of lighthouses, beacons, public piers, etc., the constitutionality of which had never been questioned, but they were not harbor appropriations in the true sense of the term. The originally accepted doctrine was that the Constitution was "a salt water instrument" granting the power of sea coast improvement only. The new Northwest, however, soon lifted its voice, demanding harbors on the Great Lakes, and the convenient theory was advanced that these bodies of water were merely "inland seas". There were those in authority, however, who were unable to admit the constitutionality of improving

inland harbors for the needs of commerce, but were satisfied if the plans were designated as "refuge harbors".

Wisconsin came into being as a Territory just as the West was beginning to realize the need for national assistance in local projects. Harbor improvement and, indeed, lake commerce prior to 1843, the date of the first appropriation for a Wisconsin harbor, were meagre. The first steamer had appeared on the Lakes in 1819; the number had increased to eleven by 1833 and to fifty-two in 1845. The first line from Buffalo to Chicago was established in 1834 and it was at about this time that Lake Michigan gained prominence as a highway of commerce. Prior to 1837 the government had spent but \$162,601 on Lake Michigan, wholly at Chicago and St. Joseph, Michigan, and up to 1853 only one-eighth of the river and harbor appropriations taken as a whole, had been devoted to the Great Lakes. Wisconsin's growth in the early thirties soon accentuated its needs. The first memorial concerning harbors in the Territory was one by certain steamboat owners trading out of Milwaukee, transmitted to Congress by the Territorial Council of Michigan in December, 1834. They speak of the requirements of the port and think a harbor could be built for \$15,000. In the Territorial days it was, of course, quite natural for the legislatures to appeal for aid to the general government. The first governor of Wisconsin in his message in 1836 suggested "the propriety of asking Congress for an appropriation sufficient to cover expenses of surveying all the necessary harbors on Lake Michigan and for the construction of lighthouses". Wisconsin's delegates in Congress secured such appropriations, and in 1837 several surveys were undertaken. Petitions regarding improvements poured in on Congress all through the thirties and forties, many of which were signed extensively by residents of eastern cities, such as New York, Albany, and Erie. In 1840 and again in 1842 efforts were made to introduce Wisconsin

harbor bills but in both sessions the opposition was too strong. Milwaukee, however, in 1843, finally secured \$30,000, and Racine and Kenosha \$12,500 each in 1844. Other small sums were voted during the period preceding the Civil War, but the major portion of the improvement during that time was accomplished by local and individual effort. It was the era of bridge piers, extension of wharves and docks built out into the Lake to a depth sufficient to accommodate the landing of steamers, which of course were very inadequate makeshifts, particularly useless in rough weather. Most of these piers were built by individual initiative and excessive tolls were often charged. When, in 1866, the national government began in earnest the work of harbor improvement, a more adequate engineering solution was worked out. It was realized that the shifting sands interfered with lasting improvement; that parallel piers must be constructed, channels dredged, and protection breakwaters established.

The sum total of government appropriations for Wisconsin harbors prior to 1866 was \$175,700, Milwaukee having received \$84,100, Kenosha \$37,500, Racine \$26,100, Sheboygan \$20,000 and Manitowoc \$8,000. Thus fully three-fourths of the number of harbors within the boundaries of the State had not been begun by this date and the insignificance of the sum spent is seen by comparison with the total of expenditures within the State up to 1900, an amount approximating \$8,000,000. The representatives of the State in Congress were largely responsible for the securing of this large sum, several of them, notably Philetus Sawyer, having been at the very forefront in the defense of harbor improvement. Persistent memorials from the State legislatures, petitions from individuals and the steady coöperation of private enterprise have all been factors in obtaining government aid.

Aside from government improvements in Wisconsin several other agencies have been at work. First as to

the part played by the State. This has been comparatively unimportant and consists almost entirely of legislative control, such as providing and limiting the methods that the corporate locality might employ in schemes of improvement. Of itself it has done nothing, outside of the construction of the Sturgeon Bay Canal, by means of proceeds from a land grant, donated for the purpose by the general government. This project, while still in the hands of the contractors as the agents of the State, was purchased by Congress and has since been conducted as a national waterway, free of all tolls.

Other factors in Wisconsin harbor improvement have been the village and the city, always prominent, and particularly so in ante-bellum days. Government aid was at that time slow and uncertain and many Wisconsin towns proceeded to help themselves. In fact the city and village were the chief instruments in improvement, and the general government merely assisted. To-day conditions are reversed and the role of assistance falls to the locality. However, even yet the improvement inside the harbor or shore line must fall to the lot of the municipality, and repeated statements to this effect have been made by the government engineers. Each municipality is by statute required to keep a separate harbor fund and the general surveillance of the harbor is assigned to harbor masters. The first mention of this officer occurred in the charter of the village of Manitowoc in 1850, and the second in that of Sheboygan in 1862. Besides the direct methods of harbor work, the cities have done much indirectly, by way of assistance to government work, either in appropriations or otherwise. Often the cities have assisted in dredging the outer harbors and in two cities, Sheboygan and Kenosha, the dredge was furnished the government at cost. Kewaunee and other cities have donated property for the use of the Engineers' Department, while in other instances money has been temporar-

ily loaned to carry on the work, where the national appropriations have been insufficient, the municipality trusting for reimbursement to succeeding appropriations.

Township and county have also contributed a share in the work of improvement. The former has been active where the harbor was not situated in a locality already incorporated, as for instance Oconto, Kewaunee, and Ahnapee (Algoma). The work done by this unit, however, has not been important and county aid has played a much greater part, particularly in the early days when villages were too small to carry on the improvements alone. The counties of Sheboygan, Manitowoc, and Douglas have all voted considerable sums at various times for this purpose.

Last of all, individual initiative is to be considered as a factor in Wisconsin harbor improvements. Private subscription has always been an important means of raising money and particularly is this true in the early days of improvement. Assistance was thus rendered in Port Washington, Kenosha, Racine and Algoma, and in other cases a partial payment of expenses of a government dredge has been contributed by individuals. It will be remembered that the early bridge piers, also, were owned and operated by private firms or corporations, the first being that at Kenosha in 1840. Lumber companies in the northern part of the State still build and maintain this sort of a structure and their piers and channels were the basis of the government improvement at both Marinette and Pensaukee. On Lake Superior the private ore docks are always important factors in harbor facilities and many channels have been dredged at private expense from the deeper waters to these docks. Summarizing, it may be said that in Wisconsin every local division has contributed its share in the development of the harbors, all being aided by the coöperation of the individual.

Illustrative of the working out of these principles it

is of interest to study in detail the work of these various factors in Wisconsin's three oldest harbors, Kenosha, Racine and Milwaukee.

Kenosha is situated fifty miles north of Chicago and thirty-three miles south of Milwaukee. The first step to be taken towards a harbor was Delegate Durkee's special preëmption bill of 1837, which provided that the village lots should be sold by the government at an appraised value, fixed by its officers, and that the proceeds, estimated at \$30,000, should go to the harbor fund. It seems that the land was still in the hands of the government and this way was devised of providing homes for the settlers and insuring their future. The bill, however, failed to pass Congress. A survey was conducted by the government in 1840, but as there were several points at which it was possible to locate the piers, dissensions arose and no action followed, although the citizens by subscription raised funds to erect a lighthouse. Petitions and memorials, both for appropriations and land grants continued to be poured in upon Congress and in 1844 \$12,500 was authorized to be spent by that body. During the later forties city taxes and bonds were voted and in 1850 a dredge was purchased out of the funds of the municipal treasury. Government engineers during this period frequently appeared before the city council to discuss plans and the two authorities worked in entire harmony. Appropriations by the city up to 1879 reached a total of \$75,000, about half of which was in the form of bonds. The government up to 1900 has expended nearly a half million dollars and the result is a twenty foot channel and a breakwater.

A more important harbor is to be found at Racine, twenty-three miles south of Milwaukee. A survey was made here by the government in 1837 but all efforts to secure an appropriation failed until 1844, when \$12,500 was allotted to it. Four years prior to that, however,

since legislative memorials and individual petitions had proved unavailing, the city commenced work on two piers and before 1844 had voted at a harbor meeting \$10,000 in taxes and subscriptions and \$25,000 in bonds. The county extended aid also and an agent was sent to Washington at a salary of four hundred dollars a year to solicit money. Individuals guaranteed the city loans in one instance, in expectation of national assistance and the act of 1843 permitted city harbor works to be sold to the general government. In fact such a start had the local undertakings obtained that when the government did begin appropriating money, sarcasm was aimed at it for playing the part of an assistant in connection with "a little village". By 1845 the harbor was so well advanced that vessels could enter it, although the old bridge piers were still used long afterwards. In 1850 a prominent citizen, Philo White, published a lengthy account of Lake Michigan improvements, in which he particularly recommended Racine for government aid. A board of three harbor commissioners were appointed six years later but their activity was interrupted by the Civil War. Up to 1879 the locality had spent about \$60,000 while the government, which assumed full charge of the work in 1866, has appropriated ten times that sum, recently completing a protection breakwater.

The metropolis of the State, Milwaukee, owes much of its past and present importance to its harbor, whose situation, one hundred miles from the foot of the Lake, has given it great advantages. As early as 1834 attention was called to its improvement and Captain Berrien made a survey and recommended that the government take action. The same year also witnessed the construction of a pier by the first resident, Solomon Juneau, and the building of the first vessel, while a lighthouse, established in 1838, was the first government improvement. The original plan of the United States engineers was to

build a pier at the mouth of the river, but this conflicted with the views of the citizens and thus interfered with harmonious coöperation on their part. The first government appropriations were expended, according to its plans, at the mouth of the river while the city, on the other hand, in April, 1844, voted a loan of \$15,000 with which to dig a channel known as "the straight cut", thus avoiding the lower windings of the river. Private subscriptions for the same object were also received but the project was not successfully begun until 1852. By that time the government had been convinced that the scheme of the citizens was the better and so abandoned its own work at the mouth of the river, which had already proved worthless, and appropriated \$15,000 to aid the city's plans. Until the latter was completed private piers were the sole means of landing except for those little craft that could ascend the river at the old mouth. Since the government aid was intermittent the city decided to complete the work itself; and having secured in the charter of 1846 power to raise harbor taxes whenever the citizens so voted, a sum of \$100,000 was authorized. The cost of the work done in the succeeding years was greater than this amount and the contractors were obliged to bring suit for the balance. Litigation was prolonged for a decade, coming before the Supreme Court of the State several times, under the title *Hasbrouck vs. The City of Milwaukee* and was finally adjudicated in favor of the contractor in 1866. Thus the cost of the improvement was almost double what it would have been otherwise, the total sum spent by the city up to 1870 for the harbor being in the neighborhood of half a million dollars. Efforts were repeatedly made to secure reimbursement from the government for this sum but all failed of accomplishment. The government resumed the work in earnest after the Civil War and in 1881 began the construction of the outer harbor of refuge, costing a million in itself. The commercial

position of the Cream City is so largely due to its harbor, however, that the expenditures, on the whole, enormous as they have been, can not be considered as excessive.

THE WASHINGTON WE FORGET

By ARCHER B. HULBERT

It seems to me that we can not better oppose the fulfilment of Professor McMaster's sad prophecy that "George Washington is or soon will be an unknown man" than by advocating that authors of school histories and our patriotic societies which celebrate Washington's Birthday should turn to a careful study of his life and aims as revealed by his own letters, journals, and state papers. It is from these sources that I have built up my own Washington; he is a real, flesh-and-blood man; I have on occasion described him in public as he is found reflected in this mirror constructed by himself — and protest has always come from a portion of those who have heard the description. I have gone back thoughtfully to my source of information, on such occasions, and pondered well, again and again, over the picture presented there. It has made me wonder if the people at large want to know the real man; do they want to know the General and lose the Man? I do not mean the "real man" which some describe by silly stories of his alleged careless moments, words or acts, by hunting up papers indicating a familiarity with the card table or examining the sources to find if he swore at Monmouth or whether he at some time or another took a glass too much of Madeira. I deny that such expressions of him, true or not, show us the real man. I do not believe he would authorize anyone to-day to draw a picture of the "real man" from such sources. But I do believe — if I believe anything — that he would favor a complete study of his literary remains of a serious nature and would ask that he

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be judged by them and be known to the world as they portray him.

Now most will agree that if Washington was a real man, the boy was the father of the man. But in what school history is the boy described save in the idle stories which have no real foundation? Youth means ignorance, inexperience, error. Did he ever grow up? Did he ever acquire knowledge, experience, judgment? If there are ten thousand accounts of his mission to the French forts on the Allegheny, nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine tell of his brave fight with the running ice in the Allegheny as the typical thing which indicates his character. Did you ever know a wide-awake boy who wouldn't crawl out of an icy river if he fell in, or who wouldn't build a raft to cross a river if it was the only way to get home? One might as well say that the boy is shown by his putting on his shoes in the morning as to illustrate the sagacity and heroism of the Allegheny episode by describing the raft incident near Pittsburg. It is not described by him with any minuteness or with the slightest emphasis; the story is one drawn in great part from the imagination of early writers. Having painted the picture of the lad crossing the river the strain is such that the great lessons of the journey are passed over in silence. Not a word of his admirable diplomacy in allaying the suspicions of hundreds of red-skins who wanted to know the reason for the wild winter's ride? Not a word concerning the splendid record of the journey which he turned over to the Governor on his return? Look at that ten thousand word document. He reached Williamsburg one night and found that his report must be ready in the morning. He had only rough notes, made in the rain and snow, jotted down surreptitiously when guards and soldiers were not looking, or under his blankets when all were asleep. In that night he rewrote his journal and framed, unwittingly, a document that should be read

anxiously by a waiting world. Note its modesty, its clearness, its terseness, its vividness. Could your average college boy draft almost instantaneously from the roughest kind of notes so succinct, impassioned, and statesmanlike a paper of equal length? It was a most remarkable performance for a lad who had known little of the best education of his day. I have never heard this document alluded to as an indication of the boy's character; I know of nothing in his youth of equal moment so far as character revealing is concerned.

Or look at the young soldier fortifying the Virginia frontier in the black days after the defeat of the brave, sacrificed Braddock. A year and more ago Dr. Van Dyke, in an article on "The Americanism of Washington", wished to show the broken, bleeding heart of Washington in the dark days of "Valley Forge". He did it by quoting that heart-rending letter in which Washington states that if he could he would sacrifice himself to the butchering enemy to save his people. That letter was not written at "Valley Forge" but two decades before — by the boy on the red frontier a year after Braddock's defeat. It is boyish in every line and I love its boyishness because it saves to us a rich, throbbing young heart that we should never, never lose — the boy who was father of the man!

Pass on for a moment to the Revolutionary War. How was it that this staid Virginian planter, closely allied in business with the mother-country, removed some distance from the turbulent scenes in New England, bred in the air of aristocracy, should, as it were, jump out of his environment and join the noisy rabble to which the vast majority of educated, well-bred people looked down in pity and distrust — to become its leader and mainstay? You say the great man shows here. Aye — a great man who had had his own experiences and was moved, not by jingoism or philosophy or metaphysics, but by patent

facts that had been borne home to his heart in no unmistakable way; hard truths and as commonplace as all real things are. For twenty years he had been engaged in the attempt to make England redeem her promises to his campaigners at Fort Necessity in 1754. The bounty lands promised to him and his men had not been granted. His efforts, continuous, tireless, patient, had found no reward. The carper replies that he was interested because there were ten thousand acres to come to him. These carping critics, I sometimes think, are keeping the real Washington alive for us while we prate about sixteen maxims and crossing rivers on rafts amid the ice and what-not. If it was wrong for the Mount Vernon planter to desire the land granted him by a grateful King and Council and wrong for him to wish to see the promises made to his troops fulfilled, there is room, perhaps, for criticism. I look at it as a proof of the man's reality, common-sense, and genuineness. And I am sure that it was this experience with the arrant wilfulness of the ministry in London that made Washington see the true inwardness of the momentous crisis. "At a time when our lordly masters in Great Britain", he now wrote a friend, "will be satisfied with nothing less than the deprivation of American freedom it seems highly necessary that something should be done to avert the stroke. . . . We have already, it is said, proved the inefficiency of addresses to the Throne and remonstrances to Parliament. How far, then, their attention to our rights and privileges is to be awakened or alarmed by starving their trade and manufactures remains to be tried". In his own peculiar way he knew whereof he spoke; he had conducted a long campaign for rights and privileges without avail. It was the real man Washington who was the rebel! It is only by a study of Washington's efforts to secure the bounty lands promised his heroes of Fort Ne-

cessity that we can understand what kind of a rebel Washington was.

And it was the real man who was the General. He knew little enough about war and the operations of armies. He had not issued an order for seventeen years. He had never commanded more than sixteen hundred men and had been criticised roundly as an officer who knew not the difference between "parties" and an "army" by the wise and judicious Bouquet. But Washington knew enough about war to command effectively the ill equipped army over which he was placed—because he was a great man. He knew by heart the principles of Indian warfare in the West. He had led, God knows, barefooted, hungry men before he ever heard of Valley Forge. He knew something of the savage strategy of retreating and maneuvering until he could strike the enemy at an advantage in the dark or in the fog. He had been just what the land needed—a hero of many defeats; for it takes, not a general, but a Man to be that! And look at his victories: Trenton and Princeton and the attack at Germantown, are they not all illustrations of the effectiveness of Indian cunning? He had learned to be a hero in adversity, a patient believer in hopeless, last extremities, a burden-bearer for hundreds of hopeless, homeless men, a people's mainstay when all was black and men were all but faltering. Now, as in 1756-58, his task was to arouse a nation of people only half-awake to the crisis; to demonstrate the superiority of wisely ordered liberty over license, and the inferiority of personal independence compared with a unity made strong through faithful coöperation and hallowed by mutual self-sacrifice. And fortunate it was that England had compelled the Colonies to learn how to carry war's heavy harness in the days of Braddock and Wolfe, against the day when their liberty should be assailed by something more disastrously fatal to freedom than savages fired to mur-

der and pillage by French brandy! If not a great General, it was a great Man who was "First in War"!

I have very little sympathy with those who try to glorify Washington out of all human recognition for the things he did not do — by negation. No line of reasoning will lose us more quickly the man Washington. Why prate about his refusing (to) pay for his Revolutionary services? How much pay did the officers about him get and what was it worth when they did get it? It is tiresome, too, to hear his praises sung for not taking for himself the stock offered him in the Potomac and James river improvement companies. If he began with these, pray, what companies would not want his name on their list of stockholders? Why praise him for doing what to-day would be a very ticklish thing for a public man to do — and for which some have been ostracized? I do not hold with the theorists who believe that a man's crown will be brighter in the next world because he does not do silly, unwise things or because he is not a traitor. And so I do not appreciate the logic which proves that Washington was a patriot by comparing his modesty to the vanity that made Charles Lee what he was, or because he could overlook a Conway cabal. Why praise this man who did so much for attitudes which were the commonplace necessities of the occasion (he being what he was) and for doing things which no man but an ingrate or a scoundrel could have left undone? He didn't do a million things and does not the talk about these conspire to lose us the man who did things? By what divination, asks one writer of international prominence, was Washington able to overlook Franklin's fur cap or Putnam's felt hat or Morgan's leather leggings? For a quarter of a century those heroes had been helping to guide a struggling people to freedom and their names had gone 'round the world. If the General had kicked out Franklin and his

cap or brave Morgan with his leggings it is sure we would not want to keep the Man!

Now turn back a little. I have found it very sacrilegious to attempt to show that Washington's character developed. Perfect at fifteen, he was perfect at twenty-two, also, incidentally perfect at forty, and at fifty perfection personified. I reply, why deny this great character the saving grace of experience, the inspiration that comes with overcoming faults, foibles, whims, conceits and sins? I see him change from a narrow (patriotic) Virginian, fighting for all he was worth for the expansion of his beloved State and its western trade, to a great broad far-seeing American who penned that famous letter to Harrison in 1784. I can talk of the latter man but I can not describe the former man without raising a host of objections. I think we can appreciate the aims and purposes of Washington in the Forbes campaign, who wanted Virginia to profit commercially by the campaign though he may have acted "in no ways like a gentleman" in the eyes of Pennsylvanians. I admire him for his loyalty in attempting to swing Forbes's army down into Braddock's road. It was a day of partisanship. How much did Franklin do for Virginia? But I see in the broadening of the man's vision and sympathies and hopes the greater Washington, because such development proves to me that he was a man, a great growing man, and it is only by such a comparison that I can see it. At one time he would not consider the Monongahela a trade-route from East to West because it flowed into Pennsylvania to the Ohio. A little later I see him traversing the Mohawk and calling New York and Pennsylvania and Virginia to do their duty to improve all their waterways in order to bind the nation together in bands stronger than those of Orion. I have been rebuked for describing the Washington whom General Forbes knew and discredited because he was a partisan Virgin-

ian. Those who are not willing to see the character growth in this man are helping to bring to pass the prophecy uttered by Professor McMaster and should not be allowed a holiday on February 22nd or a fire-cracker on the Fourth of July.

His character appears when the young man first stepped on the stage of history. "From the first Washington appears not as a man aiming at prominence", I read on the page of a book before me. What kind of a boy does this writer think George was? What boy in his heart does not aim at prominence? What else do we hope to make them aim at but a right kind of prominence? And look at his entrance on the stage. By most accounts you would think the Governor of Virginia came on his knees through the woods with that commission to the Alleghenies on a silver salver. I can not put my hand to a page that shows that he asked for the appointment after several had refused it. Does the lad lose in your estimation because he went after this appointment with an earnestness that made the doughty Governor cry out: "Faith, you're a brave lad"? Crash, you say, goes one of your marble statues showing Washington amiably considering the offer to spy out the grapes and giants of the Promised Land. I had much rather have a statue showing him anxiously asking to be "put on the job". That is human; that is tangible; that influence lives. That is a boy we can understand. And, incidentally, it is the truth!

But, it seems, there can be too much truth-telling about this boy to satisfy everybody. Have you a statue of the lad standing among the Indian lodges on the Ohio answering the questions asked him concerning his mission? It would show his hatchet at his belt and his hands outstretched. He is saying: "Beloved fellow-citizens: The Governor of Virginia desires to know what forts the French are building in the West which belongs to Eng-

land, how many men and guns they contain, what their purposes are as to further trespass and how you Indians view their advance and whether you will aid or oppose it". If you have such a marble, in the interests of truth hide it. For when the lad was asked what he came for he told a spy's lie — if a lie is an intention to deceive — as bold as western history records. They had just been told by the French commander that even the dirt under their finger-nails belonged to the King of France. So they questioned this English emissary. "This was a Question I all along expected", wrote the wise, honest-hearted lad in his *Journal*, "and had provided as satisfactory Answers to, as I could, which allayed their Curiosity a little". Metaphysicians may decide how near a true answer could have been satisfactory. I like to think of the lad's pondering this over as he rode along. I feel for him. He becomes very human.

He is human again, come another year, when he writes that he wouldn't miss the battle at Fort Duquesne for five hundred pounds, and makes the General actually promise not to fight until he could get up with the army from his sick bed! Sweep away the years and you see the tall, sad figure at Long Island and Brandywine and Valley Forge. It comes home to us that Washington "grew up" in every sense.

President Mitchell recently said that he was forty years old before he realized that "damned yankee" were two words. I like all I see of the "damned yankee" in Washington, for nothing could more surely prove him human, and I fancy the term, or something like it, was often used in describing him. This means he was a keen, cautious, saving man, desiring his rights and all of them, prone to experiment with novelties and wide awake to benefit himself. It requires a little courage to tell the whole truth with respect to his land operations in the West. It seems to make marble busts tremble on their

pedestals, and I am told that this accomplished no good purpose. But I have built my Washington very largely from the records of Washington's western interests, and I have found him guilty of nothing that any self-respecting energetic man of to-day would not consider a plain duty to himself and his family. This has humanized Washington to me, and I can not be persuaded that it can do less for any honest inquirer.

In 1767 Washington began his western operations. Note the date. I see in his enterprise a clear reading of the nation's future. I see in it a belief that America was to defy the European mandate that mountains are imperative boundaries of empire. I see in it a tenet that could be held only by a man of far-reaching imagination — and imagination has made the world! Only a year or so before, the King of England had issued a proclamation that no one should build a cabin west of the headwaters of streams flowing into the Atlantic Ocean. But this Mount Vernon planter wrote his agent: "I can never look upon that proclamation in any other light (but I say this between ourselves) than as a temporary expedient to quiet the minds of the Indians. Any person, therefore, who neglects the present opportunity of hunting out good lands for his own, and in some measure marking them for his own, in order to keep others from settling them will never regain it". And yet, I read on the page of a book before me: "Washington was not the kind of a man to reconcile himself to a gratuity — and if the modern methods of coming in on the ground floor had been explained and suggested to him he would have described them in language more notable for its force than for its elegance". But the real Washington wrote his agent: "I recommend that you keep this whole matter a secret or trust it only to those in whom you can confide — If the scheme I am now proposing to you were known, it might give the alarm to others, and by putting

them upon a plan of the same nature, before we could lay a proper foundation for success ourselves, set the different interests clashing and in the end overturn the whole. All this may be avoided by a silent management and the operation carried on by you under the guise of hunting game, which you may, I presume, effectually do at the same time you are in pursuit of land. When it is discovered I will have the lands immediately surveyed to keep others off and leave the rest to time and my own assiduity”!

At another time Washington recommended Crawford to make several entries of Pennsylvania land, if the law limited the amount that could be taken out in one patent. In 1770 when coming up the Ohio on his tour of inspection from the Great Kanawha, Washington took care not to let all the party know he was on the lookout for good land. From his encampment near Marietta he saw a bear on the shore of the river; “We landed”, reads his *Journal*, “and followed it about half a Mile from the River w[hich] gave us an opportunity of s[eeing] a little of the Land, which was hilly but rich”. What a relief in these days to see Presidents chasing bears for the bear’s own sweet sake! You say I am a bull in a china shop and marble busts are falling everywhere. I reply that the busts of this great man must be carved by men who know the facts. Most of us have followed “bears” to see the land in which they roamed and judge of its fertility and the possibility of turning a penny there. I can understand the Washington who did that. He becomes a real man; here is red blood. More than all, it is the truth!

But now toll the bell. We have arrived at the black year of 1784. Let us walk softly else we cut our feet on marble chips which deluge the floor. Washington has returned to Mount Vernon loaded with the praise of his countrymen and the friends of liberty the world over.

He is accounted the richest man in America. He owns thirty-one thousand acres in Virginia, three thousand acres in Pennsylvania, three thousand acres in Ohio, ten thousand acres in Kentucky and other tracts in New York and Florida, etc., etc., etc. He had not had time to take care of his property while away from home on business at Boston, Brandywine, Yorktown and elsewhere! His western agents had done what they could to preserve his titles and had been pretty successful except on a rich tract of three thousand acres in Washington County, Pennsylvania. Here some Scotch-Irish squatters had over-run his land and had driven away the keeper placed there to warn poachers away. On learning the facts Washington's fighting blood woke up, and soon he was off on horse for a six hundred mile journey "having found it indispensibly nessary to visit my Landed property West of the Apalacheon Mountains", he wrote in his *Diary*, "and more especially that part of it which I held in Co-partnership with M. Gilbert Simpson [Crawford's successor as agent]". Those who have pictured him as a complacent old gentleman sitting before a Mount Vernon fire-place in slippers and dressing-gown with his family about him worshipping the hero of the new Republic can afford to look at him with a companion or two threading the trails of the "Apalacheon Mountains" and sleeping in the snow in what is now beautiful Mountain Lake Park with no covering but his great coat, or haggling with a rough crew of squatter-pirates in western Pennsylvania. For one I would like a picture of this soldier whose fame was resounding over the world as he rode out of Mount Vernon with his Dutch up determined to make those Scotch-Irish on Chartier's Creek walk Spanish. With that on my wall I would defy Professor McMaster's prophecy to be fulfilled in my heart! What if he did have forty-nine thousand acres elsewhere? Some rascals were robbing him in Pennsylvania while

he had been away working for his expenses. My friends, here is seen the difference between the fictitious figment, Washington, the unhuman saint, demortalized, inconceivable, unreal, and the living, breathing, genuine MAN, angered because unscrupulous rascals were robbing him. Unable to come to terms with them, when he met them in a body to talk it over, Washington engaged a lawyer to handle his case for him. I am particularly struck by one argument advanced by Washington to his lawyer in the correspondence which is still extant. He said that this scheme to deprive him of this property is "considering the circumstances under which I have been, and the inability of attending to my own affairs, not only unjust but pitifully mean". The case was tried in the ordinary sequence of legal procedure and Washington was given the verdict. The squatters moved away, after burning all the buildings, fences, crops, etc., in their rage, and Washington later sold the land for about twelve thousand dollars.

Such are some of the lessons to be drawn from the actual records of this great man's life, to be found to-day in his own handwriting. If these sources are studied is there any possibility that the man himself will not live? And best of all, when once studied carefully these sources reveal a splendid honesty, a noble courage, a magnificent self-abnegation so far as public affairs are concerned, while fraught with the lessons of caution, forethought, enterprise, and thrift in private affairs which our youth of America need to-day to a marked degree. I glory in Washington's character as the most precious legacy our nation can possess because in his private papers and diaries and journals you will find pictured a great and noble man who would unselfishly give of himself to the country he loved and would be, at the same time, sane, reasonable, and scrupulous with reference to his private affairs. In these days of miraculous commercial growth

no lesson is more needed in our land. Nothing is more difficult than to draw the line between what we owe to the public at large, to the nation which expects every man to do his duty, and what we owe to ourselves and our families in the way of scrupulous attention to business concerns, on which our stability, as men and women who are making a nation stronger or weaker, rests. If our patriotic and historical societies and the writers of our school histories will go back to Washington's own records for their data and will inculcate the lessons to be found there, there will be no need to destroy any worthy busts of our great first President, for he will be found to be a living *man* of greater nobility than is even yet appreciated; and so he will stand, in President Eliot's beautiful words, "like the sun-lit peak of Matterhorn, unmatched in all the world".

LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS AS LAWYERS

BY ORRIN N. CARTER

History has been called the biography of great men. Biography is history in miniature. It brings us close to the men and things which we are studying. Personal reminiscences of a lawyer, however, are not usually attractive to the popular mind since his reputation is but for the day. It is not strange, therefore, that so little is generally known of Lincoln and Douglas as lawyers. Their careers as statesmen have so overshadowed everything that they did in the legal profession that few ever think of them in that connection. In recent years interest has been aroused in Lincoln as a lawyer, but it is difficult to find much information on that subject with reference to Douglas. It may surprise many lawyers to learn that Douglas served two years and more on the Supreme Bench of this State (Illinois), just before he was elected a Representative in Congress.

It is entirely appropriate to consider the training, experience, and legal ability of these two men. Possibly no other two men in our history, both reaching such eminence in national affairs, were so closely associated in many things as were Douglas and Lincoln. They came to Illinois at about the same time; one from Kentucky by way of Indiana in 1830, and the other from Vermont by way of New York and Ohio in 1833. The younger, Douglas, was admitted to the bar in 1834 and began practicing law in Jacksonville, Morgan County; while Lincoln was licensed in 1836 and began practicing the next year in the adjoining county of Sangamon. They served in the same legislature. They were thrown together in the

practice of the law for several years and Lincoln was frequently before the Supreme Court while Douglas was a member of that tribunal. They were rivals for the hand of the same lady. They were the principals in the greatest public debate which this country has ever known, — a debate that marks an epoch in our history. They contested with each other for a seat in the United States Senate, and finally they were opposing candidates for the highest office in the gift of the people.

Until the history-making debate of 1858 Lincoln was little known outside of his State, while Douglas was then the most prominent man in either House of Congress. As Lincoln said in that debate, he was of world-wide renown. His great reputation undoubtedly fixed the attention of the nation on that extraordinary intellectual contest. At the opening of the debate Lincoln was known and seen largely in the reflected light of his great rival. This debate, however, made his candidacy for the presidency possible, and his own fame now has almost completely eclipsed that of Douglas. The ordinary reader of history knows little of Douglas, except in association with Lincoln as the latter's opponent in this great forensic contest and as the leading candidate against him for president. Considering the prominence and brilliancy of Douglas during his life his place in history seems now almost pathetic. These two men are most frequently compared, not so much because of their respective characters or ability, as from the fact that Lincoln was on the winning and Douglas on the losing side of a great national struggle. While we all believe that Lincoln was morally on the right side of the slavery question, it was most fortunate for his reputation and for the country that the time was then ripe for the settlement of that problem. Douglas found himself with the receding tide, Lincoln with the incoming. Without detracting in the slightest from the great ability and ever growing and

well deserved reputation of Lincoln, a study of the lives of these two men strongly emphasizes the truth of the old adage that "Nothing succeeds like success."

Both of these men were above reproach in private life; both were of extraordinary ability, although each was very different from the other. Lincoln was six feet four inches in height, weighed about 183 pounds, was well built in proportion and one of the strongest men physically of his time. Douglas was a trifle over five feet four; in his young manhood he weighed about 100 pounds, but later in life about 140. Lincoln said when he first met Douglas in 1834 that he (Douglas) was "the least man I have ever seen." That statement doubtless was meant as a compliment, for Douglas was then known, even though only twenty-one years of age, as very much of a man in public affairs. Douglas had a very large head for the size of his body. Lincoln's head was not large as compared with his size. Douglas was very popular, a "hale fellow, well met," with everyone with whom he associated. Doubtless in early life he was the more polished, — as that term is ordinarily used, — of the two men. The statements, however, so often heard that Lincoln was awkward and ill at ease in society are largely exaggerations. Those best qualified to judge state that he was at home on all occasions, whether in the society of men or women and that he was always the center of interest in any gathering.

They were both self-made men, succeeding largely through their own unaided exertions. Douglas had a slightly better opportunity for education, having gone practically through a high school course, while Lincoln's schooling was not more than a year all told, and that taken at odd times. The practice of the legal profession in their time was quite different from what it is now. There were but few libraries of any size, either public or private, in the State. In Springfield there were not over

two or three libraries of fifty volumes; in Chicago probably not more than a half dozen of one hundred volumes. The *Revised Statutes of Illinois*, the *Illinois Form Book* and a few elementary treatises constituted the usual library of a lawyer in the smaller towns. Common sense, the gift of speech, an aptitude for politics, and regular attendance upon the courts in the circuit were the chief requisites of success at the bar when Lincoln and Douglas began the practice of law.

Douglas was born in Vermont, the son of a physician. His father having died when he was an infant, his mother married again when Douglas was seventeen years of age, and took him with her to her new home in New York State. When he was twenty he decided to try his fortunes in the West and without any definite location in view he remained for a time in Cleveland, Ohio. Late in 1833, after a serious illness he was advised to try another climate, and by way of Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis he finally landed at Winchester, the county seat of Scott County, Illinois, with almost no money. On the day of his arrival he was fortunate enough to be employed as a clerk at an auction sale, apparently being the only person present who could "write and cipher". He thus became acquainted with some of the people in that vicinity and immediately made arrangements to teach for the winter a private or select school, each pupil paying tuition directly to the teacher. He read some law while in New York and Ohio and continued it in his new location. He passed the examination for admission to the bar before he was twenty-one years of age. In the meantime he had gained a local reputation as a public speaker, excelling in popular belief a leading lawyer in a joint debate over resolutions approving the administration of President Jackson. Upon his admission to the bar he located at Jacksonville and soon became widely known — more as a leader of men than as a lawyer. At

the request of a member of the legislature he drafted in 1834 a statute for the appointment of prosecuting attorneys of the State, so that the legislature instead of the Governor should select them. He was chosen as prosecuting attorney of the first judicial district. It is often inaccurately stated that he was appointed attorney general. This latter officer at that time acted also as prosecuting attorney in the judicial district in which the capital was located. There is a well founded rumor that one of the Supreme Court judges said of him at the time of his appointment: "He is no lawyer and he has no law books." Moreover the story goes that at the first term of court after his appointment, at Bloomington in McLean County, in drafting his first indictments he spelled the name of the county "McClean" instead of "McLean". On this account a motion was made to quash all the indictments. Judge Logan, presiding on the circuit, asked Douglas what he had to say about it, and the latter replied that he did not have to say anything until the others proved the spelling incorrect. Much to the surprise of all, including Douglas, a reference to the statute establishing the county of McLean showed the name as Douglas had spelled it in the indictments, and the motion to quash was overruled. The conclusion does not follow, as Douglas's biographers assume, that the indictments would have been quashed, had the spelling of the name of the county been found to be incorrect. Clearly the two words, while slightly different in spelling, were what is known in law as *idem sonans*. Under the decisions of the Supreme Court of this State such a criticism of an indictment would be considered hypercritical.¹

Douglas spent much of his time in politics. For that matter all lawyers in this State who were at all gifted along that line then did the same thing. Because of his ability on the "stump" he was persuaded to become a

¹ People v. Spoor, 235 Ill. 230.

candidate for the legislature in 1836 and so he resigned as State's attorney. Before the close of that session of the legislature he was appointed as Register of the Land Office. The capital had previously been changed from Vandalia to Springfield and Douglas at once moved to the latter place to perform the duties of his new office, which was quite remunerative. He resigned this office in 1838 to accept the leadership of what appeared to be a forlorn hope, an election to Congress. John T. Stuart, a law partner of Lincoln, was his opponent, and the district included about two-thirds of the State, — all of the northern part. He was defeated on the face of the returns by five votes, although his friends insisted that if the ballots had been correctly counted he would have been elected. Douglas, disgusted with the result, announced publicly that thereafter he would eschew politics and give himself entirely to the practice of his profession. Until January, 1841, he did give much of his attention to law, but he was too much of a politician to keep out of public life. He practically had charge of the Democratic campaign for president in 1840 and largely through his efforts the State was saved for Van Buren, the remainder of the Middle West being carried for William Henry Harrison. There can be no doubt that during the two years that he rode circuit, as did Mr. Lincoln for many years thereafter, he established a name for himself as a successful lawyer. He appeared as counsel in six cases in the Supreme Court of the State from 1834 to 1839.² The opinions in those cases are found in Volume II of the Supreme Court reports. In all of them Douglas was successful. In the first case he was associated as counsel with John D. Caton, who afterwards served for many years on the Supreme Bench. This suit had reference to

² Lovett v. Noble, 1 Scam. 185; People v. Mobley, 1 Scam. 215; Miller v. Howell, 1 Scam. 499; Miller v. Houcke, 1 Scam. 500; Covell v. Marks, 1 Scam. 524; Whiteside v. Lee, 1 Scam. 548.

a right of action against a person who had cut timber on unenclosed public lands. In the same volume of the Supreme Court reports is found a case of interest in which Douglas was neither lawyer nor party.³ It grew out of an election bet at the time when he was a candidate for election to Congress against Stuart. Two of their respective partisans in Morgan County ordered the cloth for a coat at a cost of \$34, it being agreed that if Douglas was elected one party should pay for it, and if Stuart, the other. The suit was decided on points that did not go to the merits of the question.

In the third volume of the Illinois reports are found six cases in which he was counsel; two of them, the Field case⁴ and the Galena case,⁵ aroused great public interest. It was largely, doubtless, because of the part which he took in these cases as counsel that he was afterward elected judge of the Supreme Court. When Thomas Carlin qualified as Governor in 1838 he found as Secretary of State, Alexander P. Field. Carlin was a Democrat and Field a Whig. The law provided that the Governor should appoint the Secretary of State, but there was no provision as to when the latter's term of service should end. The new Governor contending that along with the power of appointment he had the power of removal, appointed John A. McClernand to the position. The State Senate, however, declared that no vacancy existed and rejected the nomination. After the legislature adjourned the Governor again named McClernand, who thereupon demanded possession of the office; on being refused he brought quo warranto proceedings before Judge Breese in the circuit court. The decision of that court was in his favor, but Field took an appeal to the Supreme Court where the decision was reversed by a

³ *Lurton v. Gilliam*, 1 Scam. 577.

⁴ *Field v. People*, 2 Scam. 79.

⁵ *Spraggins v. Houghton*, 2 Scam. 211, 377.

divided court, Wilson and Lockwood voting for the majority opinion, Smith dissenting, and Browne, the fourth judge, taking no part, as he was related to one of the parties. The majority of the court decided that the Governor did not have the power to remove at his pleasure; that the Secretary when once appointed held during good behavior or until the legislature limited his term. This is one of the leading cases in the State as to several questions of constitutional law and has been quoted frequently in later decisions. The other suit, considered of far greater political importance, was what is sometimes known as the "Galena alien case", brought in the circuit court of Jo Daviess County to test the right of aliens to vote. The circuit court, Judge Stone presiding, decided that the aliens were not entitled to exercise the electoral franchise. This judge was the same Stone who joined with Lincoln in signing a protest against slavery in the legislature of 1837. The case was taken to the Supreme Court by appeal and argued at the December term, 1839, by some of the most prominent lawyers of the State. Douglas was leading counsel in support of the Democratic contention that an alien was entitled to vote though not naturalized. It was feared by the Douglas side that the case would be decided at the next June term in the midst of a presidential campaign and that the decision would be against the right of the aliens to vote. The court as then constituted was made up of three Whigs and one Democrat, Judge Smith. It was commonly reported at the time that Smith came to the rescue of his political friends and pointed out a clerical defect in the record which caused a continuance to the December term, after the presidential election. As finally decided the constitutional question was avoided, the court holding that on the agreed state of facts an alien possessed all the qualifications of a voter required by the law then in force. These two decisions aroused much criticism of

the Supreme Court and a bill was introduced in the legislature to reorganize it. During the agitation over its reorganization the Governor appointed Douglas as Secretary of State. The Senate approved his appointment and no further contest was made by Field. At this time the Supreme Court performed only the duties of a court of review. In the early part of 1841, as a result of this agitation, a law was passed reorganizing the judiciary of the State, abolishing the circuit courts, increasing the membership of the Supreme Court from four to nine, requiring Supreme Court judges not only to attend to Supreme Court duties, but as individual members of the court to hold circuit court in the various circuits. The legislature appointed to these five new places on the Supreme Bench, Thomas Ford, the next year elected Governor, Walter B. Scates, for many years after leaving the bench one of the prominent lawyers of Illinois, Samuel H. Treat, afterward United States Federal Judge, Sidney Breese, one of the most noted judges of this State, and Stephen A. Douglas.

Lincoln was a member of the legislature when the law was passed which reorganized the Supreme Court. He opposed it vigorously, signing with many other members a protest charging that it was done for political purposes. He used this legislation with telling effect against Douglas in the debate of 1858; to the latter's criticism of his position on the Dred Scott decision, charging that he was not in favor of obeying the decisions of the highest court, Lincoln replied that he was in favor of obeying such decisions until they were changed in a constitutional way; if Douglas wanted to know how this could be done he would remind him of some Illinois history when the party of which Douglas was a member was displeased with a decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois; that by the action of Douglas and his party five new judges were added to the bench

to overrule the decision of the four old ones. Lincoln pointedly continued, if Douglas thinks, as he now contends, that men under those conditions should only be appointed to the bench conditionally or must be catechised before they are appointed, with reference to their views on public questions his reply would be, "You know, Judge; you have tried it." And when Douglas charged that such a court would lose the confidence of all men and be prostituted and disgraced by such a proceeding, Lincoln again replied, "You know best, Judge, you have been through the mill."

Such a change in the law, to override a decision of the highest court of the State, would hardly be tolerated now. Indeed, there is frequent criticism as to judges taking part in politics. If anyone thinks that the judiciary are too much interested in political or public matters at the present time, a little study of the lives of our judges under the Constitution of 1818 and 1848 will show that those of the present day are paragons of good behavior in this respect as compared with their predecessors of that time. The first chief justice of the Supreme Court, Phillips, and one of his associates, Browne, were both candidates for Governor in 1822, when Governor Coles was elected. Breese, Young, Semple, Shields, Robinson, and Trumbull were all at different times United States Senators, Breese being on the Supreme Bench before and after he served in the Senate. Judge Smith was a colonel on the Governor's staff during the Black Hawk War, and at the same time was acting as judge of the Supreme Court. John Reynolds was Governor and Congressman, Thomas Reynolds, the second chief justice, when defeated for reappointment to the court in 1825, moved to Missouri and was afterward Governor of that State. Ford went from the Supreme Bench to the Governor's chair. There were few judges of that time who were not known as leaders

in political matters in the part of the State where they resided. Without pausing to discuss the merits or demerits of the question as to whether judges on the bench ought to take part in public matters, it is very clear that public sentiment against that practice has been growing stronger, especially in recent years; that public sentiment will not now permit members of the court of last resort to take part in purely political matters as they did in the first half century of the history of the State. Without question the sentiment at the present day is sound. While judges should keep informed on public questions the evils arising from their taking part in matters purely political far outweigh the benefits arising from such a course.

Douglas became a member of the highest court of the State when less than twenty-eight years of age, and less than seven years from the time when he had come here a friendless wanderer. He was assigned to the fifth circuit to hold *nisi prius* court and moved from Springfield to Quincy, the latter city being in his circuit. From force of circumstances he had not devoted very much time to study or investigation. His career on the bench afforded an opportunity for becoming well grounded in the fundamental principles of the law. The cases in the Supreme Court, twenty-two in all, in which he wrote the opinions, are found in volumes 4, 5, and 6 of the *Illinois Reports*. There was little in any of these cases that tested his capacity as a judge; enough, however, to justify the conclusion that had he given his life unreservedly to the legal profession he would have been known as an eminent lawyer and judge. In view of his subsequent connection with the slavery question it is interesting to note that he was a member of the Supreme Court of Illinois when a majority of that court of his own political faith held in a case in which Shields and Trumbull were opposing counsel, Judge Smith writing the opinion, that the presump-

tion of law in this State was in favor of liberty and every person was supposed to be free without regard to color.⁶ Douglas, while on the bench wrote an opinion as to the adoption of the Common Law in this country, which has been frequently referred to with approval in other decisions. In it he said: "The common law is a beautiful system, containing the wisdom and experience of ages. Like the people it ruled and protected, it was simple and crude in its infancy, and became enlarged, improved and polished as the nation advanced in civilization, virtue and intelligence. Adapting itself to the condition and circumstances of the people and relying upon them for its administration, it necessarily improved as the condition of the people was elevated. . . . The inhabitants of this country always claimed the common law as their birth-right, and at an early period established it as the basis of their jurisprudence."⁷

When the Supreme Court was not in session the judges traveled the circuit and heard cases at *nisi prius*. From the best information obtainable it seems evident that Douglas gave practically all of his time to his judicial labors. We can find no accurate record of the amount of *nisi prius* work performed by him during the period of slightly over two years that he served as judge. Nineteen of the cases that he decided on the circuit were appealed to the Supreme Court. In two of these he wrote opinions in the higher court, affirming his *nisi prius* decision in one case⁸ and reversing in the other.⁹ Those who practiced law with him or tried cases before him have stated that it was not unusual for him to leave the bench and familiarly sit on the knee of a friend with his arm about his neck, having a friendly talk about law or

⁶ Kinney v. Cook, 3 Scam. 232.

⁷ Penny v. Little, 3 Scam. 301.

⁸ Camden v. McKoy, 3 Scam. 437.

⁹ Warren v. Nexsen, 3 Scam. 38.

politics. Such familiarity would doubtless shock the conservative bar of the present day. That Douglas could enforce respect, believed in and would uphold the dignity of his court, is fully confirmed by history. While holding court on the circuit, a case in which Joseph Smith the Mormon leader was defendant, exciting much local interest, was being tried and the sheriff, a small, timid man, failed to keep order. Douglas appointed a giant Kentuckian who was in the court room temporary sheriff and instructed him to keep order or clear the room, with a result that was entirely satisfactory both to the sheriff pro tem and to the presiding judge, since there was no further difficulty in keeping order during the trial. In the Stuart case¹⁰ a newspaper editor in Chicago had been adjudged by the trial court guilty of contempt for certain matter which he had printed about a lawsuit then on trial. Judge Breese, speaking for the Supreme Court reversed the case, writing an opinion which is somewhat noted, in which he said, "Respect to courts cannot be compelled, but is the voluntary tribute of the public to worth, virtue and intelligence. . . . Power to punish for contempt is at best an arbitrary power, not a jewel of the court to be prized, but a rod most potent when rarely used." Douglas was the only one of the court to dissent. He was in favor of enforcing the fine against the editor and upholding what he thought was the proper dignity of the court.

Douglas resigned as judge of the Supreme Court to run for Congress in June, 1843, after serving a little more than two years and three months on that bench. During that time he wrote opinions in twenty-one cases.¹¹ He

¹⁰ *Stuart v. People*, 3 Scam. 395.

¹¹ *Woodward v. Turnbull*, 3 Scam. 1; *People v. Town*, 3 Scam. 19; *Stevens v. Stebbins*, 3 Scam. 25; *Warren v. Nexsen*, 3 Scam. 38; *Gardner v. People*, 3 Scam. 83; *Pattison v. Hood*, 3 Scam. 151; *Roper v. Clabaugh*, 3 Scam. 165; *King v. Thompson*, 3 Scam. 184; *Campbell v. Quinlin*, 3 Scam. 288; *Dunn v. Keegin*, 3 Scam. 292; *Penny v. Little*, 3 Scam. 301; *Townsend*

was elected representative and twice re-elected; shortly after his third election the legislature of Illinois elected him to the United States Senate and he served as a member of that body until his death. I can not find that he did much legal business after his election to Congress. The case of *Dunlop v. Smith* is interesting from its brilliant array of counsel, Douglas, Stephen T. Logan and McClernand appearing for appellant and Lincoln for appellee.¹² Douglas was counsel also in 1851 before the Illinois Supreme Court at Ottawa in the case of *Canal Trustees v. Brainerd*,¹³ arguing the case orally. The question affected the right of preëmption by settlers on canal lands within the city of Chicago, and involved hundreds of thousands of dollars. Those who took part with him in that trial say that notwithstanding the fact that he had only a few hours for preparation he so quickly assimilated from his associates the information as to the case that he made one of the strongest arguments ever heard in that court; so strong, vigorous, and to the point as to astonish both sides. It seems that he appeared in but three cases before the Illinois Supreme Court after leaving the bench.¹⁴ He was admitted to practice before the United States Supreme Court at its December term, 1849, but a search of the published reports has failed to show that he ever took part as counsel in any case before that court, as did Webster and other noted lawyers while they were members of Congress. Perhaps Douglas was too busy with his public

v. People, 3 Scam. 326; *Carpenter v. Mather*, 3 Scam. 374; *Averill v. Field*, 3 Scam. 389; *Sellers v. People*, 3 Scam. 412; *Camden v. McKoy*, 3 Scam. 437; *Cushman v. Dement*, 3 Scam. 497; *Bank of Illinois v. Stickney*, 4 Scam. 4; *Dawson v. Bank*, 4 Scam. 56; *Grubb v. Crane*, 4 Scam. 153; *Eyman v. People*, 1 Gilm. 4.

¹² *Dunlop v. Smith* 12 Ill. 399.

¹³ 12 Ill. 488.

¹⁴ *Dunlop v. Smith*, *supra*; *Canal Trustees v. Brainard*, *supra*; *Trustees v. Dyer*, 12 Ill. 521.

duties to give any time to the practice of his profession.

A public prosecutor before he was twenty-two, leading counsel in some of the most important cases heard in the State during the next few years, a Supreme Court Judge at twenty-seven, Douglas's career at the Illinois bar has few parallels for brilliancy in the annals of history.

Lincoln, while four years older than Douglas, was not admitted to the bar until two years later and did not commence practice until April 21, 1837. During his legal career he had three law partners. The first was Maj. John T. Stuart, with whom he was associated for four years. Stuart was a member of Congress during the partnership, and Lincoln was in the Illinois legislature; their practice could not have been extensive. In 1841 he dissolved the partnership with Stuart and formed one with Judge Stephen T. Logan, one of the greatest lawyers whom the State has known. After remaining with him for two years he formed a partnership with William H. Herndon, which lasted until Lincoln was elected president. During these years he was counsel in one hundred and seventy-five cases in the Supreme Court of the State. He was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of the United States at its December term, 1848, and was counsel thereafter in three cases in that court, and took part in many other cases that were tried in the Federal courts. The first case which he tried in the Illinois Supreme Court is found in the third volume of Illinois *Reports*¹⁵ and the last in the twenty-seventh volume.¹⁶ The last named case was an action by the State against the Illinois Central Railroad, in which Lincoln appeared for the Railroad Company; the case was decided at the November term, 1861, after Lincoln was president. Lincoln's reputation as a lawyer was made as much in the

¹⁵ *Scammon v. Cline*, 2 Scam. 456.

¹⁶ *State of Illinois v. I. C. R. R. Co.* 27 Ill. 64.

trial of lawsuits on the circuit, which he traveled from 1840 to 1860, as in any other way. The eighth circuit during these years was presided over by Judge Samuel H. Treat and Judge David Davis. The boundaries of the circuit were changed from time to time, but from 1840 to 1860 it included at different times twenty-one of the present counties of Illinois, extending part of the time nearly across the State from Indiana to the Illinois River. It is also well known that even after counties had been attached to other circuits Lincoln was still called to try cases in them, and that his practice extended to other circuits. Lawyers of ability and experience in the trial of cases traveled with the judge from one county seat to another. Lincoln was the only one that traveled with the judge into all of the counties of the circuit. The court sat in each county from two days to a week. The cases were usually of small monetary importance, but the training as a lawyer to a man of Lincoln's ability and characteristics was doubtless such as he could not have obtained in any other manner. This training was invaluable in fitting him for leadership in the great problems that thereafter came before him for solution. Life on the circuit was hard, but it was most enjoyable, and all of his contemporaries state that in the evening gatherings that were held after court, Lincoln was always the center of interest. While Judge Davis was on the bench Lincoln was his favorite, and without question the judge relied very greatly on Lincoln's judgment and advice. Generally such favoritism causes the recipient to be disliked by his fellow practitioners, but Lincoln used his power so graciously and fairly and so tactfully refrained from imposing himself on the court that he was not only the favorite of the court, but was also the universal favorite of his profession, especially of the younger members. The judge's confidence in his ability is shown by the fact that he more than once asked Lincoln to sit on the bench and

conduct cases during his absence. Considerable doubt has been expressed as to whether Lincoln did act in the place of the judge as the law in the State, then as now, would not authorize a lawyer to do this. The testimony of Lincoln's contemporaries, however, is conclusive that Lincoln frequently so acted. Naturally he could not preside at the trial unless the attorneys on both sides consented. This, it is said, they were often glad to do in order not to delay their cases, thus avoiding the necessity of having clients and witnesses come again to the court.

Lincoln's reputation in Illinois as a story teller is based quite largely on his life in traveling circuit. I think in no one characteristic has he been more misunderstood. That he told stories for the sake of the stories, those who knew him and are now living emphatically deny. Mr. James Ewing, a lawyer of Bloomington, says that he never heard Lincoln tell a story for its own sake or simply to raise a laugh. Neither did he tell the kind of stories that are sometimes credited to him. True, as Ingersoll said, he would use any word which "wit would disinfect." He told stories to illustrate a point or clinch an argument.

In the fifties he was recognized as the leading jury lawyer in Illinois and took part in some of the most celebrated trials of his time, among which the Armstrong and Harrison murder cases are two of the most famous. In the first he undertook the defense at the request of the mother, an old time friend. One of the principal witnesses for the State swore on cross-examination that Armstrong hit the deceased with a slung shot and that he could see the occurrence well, because the moon at the time was about full and at about the same place in the heavens as the sun would be at ten o'clock in the morning. The fight took place about eleven o'clock at night. Lincoln proved from an almanac that the moon that night set a few minutes after midnight and that there could

have been very little moonlight on the date and at the time of the assault. It has been asserted that Lincoln played a trick by substituting an old calendar for one of that year; there is, however, no foundation for this charge. The contradiction of this witness by the almanac resulted in the acquittal of Armstrong. In the Harrison murder trial Lincoln by his skillful examination of Peter Cartwright, the great circuit rider preacher, who was grandfather of the defendant, aroused so much sympathy for his client that a verdict of acquittal followed.

One of his most important cases was that of Illinois Central Railroad Co. *v.* County of McLean,¹⁷ involving the right of the county to tax the lands of the Illinois Central Railroad; Lincoln represented the Company. On being defeated in the trial court he carried the case to the Supreme Court, where he won. There was some controversy over his fee of \$5,000, but it was finally paid after being put in judgment. A lawyer at the present time would have charged at least five times that amount for the services rendered. In 1856 he was retained by Mr. Manny in the famous case of Manny *v.* McCormick,¹⁸ tried in the circuit court at Cincinnati, involving the validity of certain patents as to reapers. Stanton was retained on the same side with Lincoln. It is well known history that Stanton ignored Lincoln and refused to allow him to argue the case orally. One of the last cases that Lincoln took part in before he was nominated for president was Johnson *v.* Jones in the United States Circuit Court in Chicago before Judge Drummond. Mr. Isaac N. Arnold, who was of opposing counsel, asked Col. John H. Kinzie how long he had resided in Chicago when Mr. Lincoln interposed saying, "I believe he is common law here; as one who dates back to the time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." The late Governor

¹⁷ 17 Ill. 291.

¹⁸ 6 McLean (U. S.) 539.

Palmer states that the last case in which Mr. Lincoln appeared in court after he was nominated for president was a suit instituted by David J. Baker against the faculty of Shurtleff College, Mr. Lincoln appearing for the plaintiff and Governor Palmer for the defendant, the case being heard before Judge Treat of the Federal Bench.

Lincoln was not only a great jury lawyer but he was a great lawyer before the court. He excelled especially in the power of clear statement. While he could arouse the emotions or appeal to the imagination, his greatest power lay in his marvellous ability to present the facts to court or jury so that no one could fail to see the point. Mr. Isaac N. Arnold, who was a personal friend of both Lincoln and Douglas, states that "they were both strong jury lawyers; Lincoln, on the whole, one of the strongest we ever had in Illinois. Both were distinguished for their ability in seizing and bringing out distinctly and clearly the real point in a case. Both were happy in the examination of witnesses, but Lincoln was the stronger of the two in cross-examination. Lincoln was the stronger in a case when he believed he was on the right side. On the wrong side Douglas was the stronger." It is a well known fact that Lincoln's services were of little value in a case in which he felt his client was in the wrong. None knew Lincoln better than Judge Davis or was better qualified to speak of him as a lawyer. Davis said of Lincoln after the latter's death: "I enjoyed for twenty years the personal friendship of Mr. Lincoln. He and I were admitted to the bar about the same time. In all the elements that constituted a lawyer he had few equals. He was great at *nisi prius* and before an appellate tribunal. He seized the strong points of a cause and presented them with clearness and great compactness. His mind was logical and direct, and he did not indulge in extraneous discussion. . . . The framework of his mental and moral being was honest, and a wrong case

was poorly defended by him. The ability which some eminent lawyers possess of explaining away the bad points of a cause by ingenious sophistry was denied him. In order to bring into full activity his great powers it was necessary that he should be convinced of the right and justice of the matter which he advocated. When so convinced, whether the cause was great or small he was usually successful." Men who could meet and cope on equal terms with the great lawyers of Illinois of their time as did Lincoln and Douglas must have been more than ordinary lawyers. Among the members of that bar were six future United States Senators, eight future members of Congress, a future cabinet member, and not less than six who were to be judges of the Supreme Court of the State, to say nothing of many other distinguished lawyers.

These two men were not only dissimilar in their physical characteristics, but were most unlike in mental attributes. Douglas was shrewd, keen, analytical, bold and aggressive; a quick and ready debater, capable of thinking as well on his feet as after deliberation; marvelously suggestive and fertile as to resources. He rarely cited historical precedents except from American politics. In that field his knowledge was comprehensive and accurate. Nobody knew when he read, yet he could refer to date, page, and volume with wonderful accuracy. He was without wit or humor; intensely practical; in no sense a dreamer or follower of ideals. He disregarded all the adornments of rhetoric. As great an authority as Blaine says of him, "He was a master of logic. In that peculiar style of debate which in its intensity resembles a physical combat he had no equal. He spoke with extraordinary readiness; he used good English, terse, pointed and vigorous."

Lincoln, on the contrary, was in a sense a dreamer, a man of ideals, a prose-poet; slow of thought, and not a

ready extemporaneous speaker. He was never overbearing or intolerant. While he recognized his intellectual ability and never hesitated to assert himself when necessary, he was usually modest and retiring; honest by instinct, the logical working of his mind made him necessarily reach the true result after deliberation and thought; very strong when he was on the right side; extraordinarily weak when he felt that his side was in the wrong. Among his most effective weapons in leadership of men were his wonderful power of expressing his views in clear, terse English, and his argument from analogy and explanation of difficult points by maxims, figures of speech, and stories. His wit and humor, never pointed nor sarcastic, he always used effectively. He spoke with the most perfect sincerity and simplicity, and his hearers always felt that he was deeply interested in the moral bearing of the public questions which he discussed. He possessed, as perhaps no other public man of the country, lucidity, flexibility, and simplicity of style. It was because of his high ideals, his moral qualities, that he had such marvelous influence over the men of his time and of all time. While not a great reader of general literature, yet he was always a student. He knew a few books, such as Shakespeare, Burns, and the Bible, better than any other public man of his time. From his boyhood he had been familiar with them. In the files of the circuit court of Menard County, in a case tried in 1847, in which Lincoln was counsel, is found a motion in the writing of opposing counsel requesting the court to instruct the jury that the passage from "Exodus" read by Lincoln to the jury was not the law in the case on trial. The instruction was given. Lincoln's speeches are filled with biblical references; scarcely one of his public utterances or great State papers from the time he was elected president until his death is without a quotation from the Bible

or a reference to the fact that God rules in the affairs of nations.

Lincoln and Douglas, so unlike in mental and physical characteristics, were alike in their intense patriotism and loyalty to the Union. No man ever put more forcibly the benefit of the federal principle in the government of this country than did Lincoln in his first inaugural address when he asked if the States could not live together in one government peaceably, how could they do so as separate governments? "They cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible then to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends?" The same thought is shown clearly in all of Douglas's public utterances. However much we may disagree with his position on the slavery question, it is clear that he was against slavery and that he took his position because he believed it was for the best interests of his country. Perhaps the most remarkable triumph ever witnessed in Congress was the defeat, under Douglas's leadership in opposition to his party and its president, of the Lecompton Constitution which had been fraudulently and forcibly foisted upon the people of Kansas by the advocates of slavery. In judging him we should bear in mind the words of the great poet,

"But, know thou this, that,
Men are as the time is."

Douglas was unfortunate in facing the past, Lincoln most fortunate in facing the future. During the presidential campaign of 1860, when Douglas saw that his own defeat was certain, that Lincoln was to be elected, he abandoned his campaign in the North, where his main

hope of gaining votes lay, and started on a speaking tour through the South, hoping against hope that he could turn the tide of public feeling in that section so that the Southern States would be satisfied to remain in the Union after Lincoln was elected. At Norfolk, Virginia, he was asked, if Lincoln should be elected would the Southern States be justified in seceding from the Union? He replied instantly, "No. The election of any man to the presidency in conformity to the Constitution of the United States would not justify an attempt to dissolve the Union."

Few appreciate the greatest result of that war. It is usually argued that it was brought on by slavery, and it is generally accepted that the freeing of four million bondsmen was the greatest result of that terrible struggle. The freeing of the slaves was indeed a priceless gain, but all thoughtful students of history now agree that that was a mere incident of the war; that as one of our great historians has said, "far more subtly interwoven with the innermost fibers of our national well being, far heavier laden with weighty consequences for the future of mankind, was the question whether this great pacific federal principle joined with local independence should be overthrown by the first great social struggle in this country." The federal principle contains within itself the working basis of permanent peace. In the contest between civilization and barbarism that has gone on through the ages there has been a gradual substitution of settling disputes by arbitration instead of by wager of battle, — the transferring of power from the hands of the warrior to the hands of the statesman. We are frequently charged with being a commercial nation — "dollar hunters" — but is it not, as one has said, better to have a nation of "dollar hunters" than "scalp hunters"? However dangerous to the perpetuity of our country the commercial spirit may be — and it is possible if we follow

the ideals and teachings of Lincoln, to minimize such evils — would we not prefer our own Federal Union with all of its weaknesses to the civilization and government of Mexico? There they settle their public questions by revolution.

The adoption of the federal constitution made possible for the first time in history a federation of nations whose governments for all practical local purposes were independent and yet were united in one central organic whole. The working out of this federal idea, as John Fiske has said, "was the finest specimen of constructive statesmanship the world has ever seen." It was a long step toward reaching a proper solution of the settlement of social and governmental problems by methods of peace and law. "This greatest safeguard of universal peace," this pacific principle in government was imperiled by the revolt of the South. Had it been successful, the progress of civilization might have been delayed for centuries. Lincoln and Douglas instinctively realized the crisis on this question. When Lincoln was elected Douglas threw all of his great influence on the side of the Union. While asserting that he was still opposed to Lincoln in party matters he publicly announced that he would assist him in every way possible to preserve the government. He proved this not only by his words but by his actions. It is well known history that when Lincoln was inaugurated Douglas stood close by him upon the platform and when the president could not readily find a place to put his hat Douglas held it during the inaugural address. As soon as Lincoln's family were installed in the White House Mrs. Douglas, who was one of the society leaders of Washington, called upon Mrs. Lincoln, thus setting the stamp of social approval on the new administration. A few weeks thereafter at the invitation of the Illinois legislature Douglas visited Springfield and spoke before that body. Some of his lifelong political opponents stat-

ed that it was one of the most powerful speeches that they ever listened to from the lips of man. Near the close, with the deepest pathos, he said, "If war must come, if the bayonet must be used to maintain the constitution I can say before God my conscience is clear. I have struggled long for a peaceful solution of this trouble. I deprecate war, but if it must come I am with my country and for my country in every contingency and under all circumstances. At all hazards our government must be maintained, and the shortest pathway to peace is through the most stupendous preparation for war." A few days later he made the last public speech of his life in the wigwam in Chicago where Lincoln had been nominated. In it he said he had "labored long for a peaceful solution of the great struggle; that slavery is a mere excuse, the election of Lincoln a mere pretext. The present secession movement is the result of an enormous conspiracy formed more than a year since. . . . Armies have been raised, war is levied to accomplish it. There are only two sides to the question. Every one must be for the United States or against it. There can be no neutrals in this war, only patriots or traitors. Thank God, Illinois is not divided on this question."

On the sarcophagus in his tomb in Douglas Monument Square, Chicago, are engraven his last words to his children. They should serve as an inspiration to the children of all patriots: "Tell my children to obey the laws and uphold the Constitution". There stands in Lincoln Park in the same city the greatest statue of Lincoln that has yet been produced. By one of the inscriptions that he has placed at its base, the sculptor shows a clear insight into Lincoln's place in history. The words of that inscription show the thoughts that inspired Lincoln in his leadership of his people, — words which demonstrate his thorough grasp of the great problems that were facing him, written when he had already made up

his mind that he would at the proper time issue the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing the slaves — written with infinite patience and forbearance in reply to a letter of his old friend Greeley; “If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union.”

Pressed on every hand by divided counsel, with prophetic vision looking through the perplexing problem of the time, there spake one who saw clearly the vital issue; “My paramount object is to save the Union and not either to save or destroy slavery.” “This one thing I do; all else is subsidiary.”

This nation was indeed divinely led that it had as its president during the Civil War one who realized the importance of the federal principle in our government and was willing — tender-hearted and sympathetic as he was — to save the Union at the sacrifice of nearly a million lives in campaign, hospital, and prison “that this nation under God might have a new birth of freedom.” When the results of this titanic conflict are fully understood, history will credit to Lincoln, and to his great rival Douglas, the highest attributes of statesmanship in foreseeing the importance of and in insisting upon upholding this great principle of “Liberty in Union”. The

saving of the Union will hasten the realization of that dream of the poet,

“When the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe
And the kindly earth shall slumber lapt in universal law,
When the war drum throbs no longer and the battle flags are furled
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the World.”

Among others the following books and articles were consulted in the preparation of this address:

Nicolay and Hay's *Abraham Lincoln: A History*

Morse's *Abraham Lincoln in American Statesmen*, Vols. XXV, XXVI

Hill's *Lincoln and Douglas Debates* in *The Century Magazine*, Vol. 77, November, 1908

Brown's *Douglas* in *Great American Lawyers*, Vol. VI, p. 455

Sheahan's *Life of Douglas*, p. 49

Greeley's *Estimate of Lincoln* in *The Century Magazine*, Vol. XLII, July, 1891, pp. 371-382

Mabie's *Lincoln as a Literary Man* in *The Outlook*, Vol. LVIII, p. 321, February 5, 1898

Gilder's *Lincoln the Leader* in *The Century Magazine*, Vol. LV, February, 1909, pp. 479-507

Adams's *Lincoln's Place in History* in *The Century Magazine*, Vol. XLVII, February, 1894, pp. 590-596

Moore's *Lincoln — Career of a Country Lawyer* in *American Law Review*, Vol. XLIV, p. 886; Vol. XLV, p. 78

Ford's *History of Illinois*

Davidson and Stuvé's *History of Illinois*, p. 453

Stevenson's *Stephen A. Douglas* in *Publications of the Illinois State Historical Society Library*, No. 13

Fiske's *American Political Ideas*

Hill's *Lincoln the Lawyer*

Palmer's *Lincoln in Bench and Bar of Illinois*, Vol. I, p. 35

Arnold's *Illinois Bar Forty Years Ago* in *Fergus Historical Series*, Vol. II, p. 132

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Conkling's *Bench and Bar of Central Illinois* in *Fergus Historical Series*, Vol. II, p. 35

Arnold's *Recollections of Early Chicago and Illinois Bar* in *Fergus Historical Series*, Vol. II, p. 9

Linder's *Reminiscences, Lincoln and Douglas*, p. 55

Tarbell's *Lincoln*

Rothschild's *Lincoln Master of Men*

Rice's *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men*
Writings of Abraham Lincoln (Constitutional Edition)

Abraham Lincoln in Lowell's *Prose Works*, Vol. V

Johnson v. Jones, Lincoln, in *Fergus Historical Series*, Vol. II,
p. 27

Arnold's *Lincoln* in *Fergus Historical Series*, Vol. I, p. 165

Sheahan's *Douglas* in *Fergus Historical Series*, Vol. I, p. 195

Douglas' Monument in *Fergus Historical Series*, Vol. I, p. 49

Gillespie in *Fergus Historical Series*, Vol. I, p. 5

Abraham Lincoln in Emerson's *Works*, Vol. XI

Autobiography of Stephen A. Douglas (manuscript copy furnished by his son, Judge Robert M. Douglas of Greensboro, North Carolina)

THE MEETING OF THE NORTH CENTRAL HIS-
TORY TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
1911

THE MEETING OF THE NORTH CENTRAL HISTORY
TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
1911

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION

(Evanston, Illinois, May 20, 1911)

REGULAR SESSION

By action of the Association at its annual meeting held in Evanston, Illinois, Saturday, May 20, 1911, on unanimous recommendation of the four members of the Executive Committee in attendance at their preliminary meeting and after consultation and correspondence with various interested members of both associations in question, the North Central History Teachers Association was made the Teachers Section of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. The annual dues were to remain the same (one dollar) and an executive committee of six was elected to manage the business of the new Teachers Section. The following were elected members of the Executive Committee: Chairman, Mr. E. C. Page, De Kalb Normal, for one year; Mr. Laurence Larson, University of Illinois, for one year; Secretary, Mr. Howard C. Hill, Oak Park High School, for two years; Miss Josephine M. Cox, Shortridge High School, Indianapolis, for two years; Mr. A. H. Sanford, LaCrosse Normal, for three years; Miss Alice E. Wadsworth, Evanston Township High School, for three years.

The matter of a deficit was laid before the Association and after a motion to levy an assessment of fifty cents per member, offered by Miss Victoria Adams, had been opposed by Professor James, his substituted motion

for one more dun of delinquent members, said assessment to be the last resort in case the request to pay met no response, was carried, Miss Adams withdrawing her previous motion.

Owing to the depletion of the Association treasury Professor James offered to let the bill for the printing of the programs, due the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, wait until sufficient funds from dues had been raised to meet the expense of sending out this fourth call to delinquent members.

The main features of the program were (1) a paper by Mr. L. A. Fulwider of Freeport, Illinois, (2) a discussion by Miss Josephine M. Cox of Indianapolis, Indiana, (3) a paper by Mr. William O. Lynch of Terre Haute, Indiana, (4) a paper by Mr. Norman M. Trenholme of Columbia, Missouri, and (5) a report on the practical working of the recommendations of the committee of eight by Mr. J. A. James of Evanston, Illinois. The discussion evoked by the papers was animated and was participated in by a number of the teachers present.

Mr. James A. Woodburn presided at the meeting, and the excellent program given was due to his efforts. The extra meeting held at Indianapolis at the time of the meeting of the American Historical Association last December, where a very interesting program was carried out successfully, was also due entirely to Mr. Woodburn's untiring efforts.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY LOUISE CHILDS, Secretary

HIGH SCHOOL TEXTS AND EQUIPMENT IN HISTORY

BY L. A. FULWIDER

It is not easy to set forth anything new in a discussion of texts. If the discussion is very general, that may well be justified, for we always have here several of the distinguished men who wrote the texts. There was a time when historical accuracy was the thing desired — scholarship. Later books were praised, if they were teachable. The teacher was the one concerned. The viewpoint shifted from the library to the teacher behind the desk, and books that were both scholarly and teachable were produced. In this paper I shall insist on moving the viewpoint on from the teacher to the children in front of the desk. It is no longer a question of scholarship or teachableness — but a question of learnableness and understandableness when the book and the child meet alone. The real test of a text is to be had by placing it in the hands of students.

Incident and Character Sketch

First of all the texts should be so written as to catch and hold the interest of students. Two of the greatest means of doing this are character sketches of great men and the clash of incident. The personality of Pitt, Montcalm, and Wolfe will add charm and life to the closing period of the Colonial era. The children are human, and if Hamilton had much to do with our history from 1776 to 1800, a character sketch such as would be given by Green in his history of England, would arouse an intense interest in all that he did. Most of our texts are decided-

ly delinquent in this field — the opportunity for such material being almost unlimited. The average text is also apt to be dry to the child, because of a universal lack of personal incident. The election of 1824 may be enlivened by the invective of John Randolph and the duel that followed. The Bank Controversy affords excitement through the clashes between Jackson and Biddle. Webster's reference to Hayne's statement that "he had something rankling here", prepares the student to understand the feeling of the times and to be interested in the principles set forth in the great debate. J. Q. Adams's statement in the House after the duel between the Congressmen from Kentucky and Maine; extracts from Sumner's "Crime vs. Kansas speech", with the rejoinders by Douglas and others; Ben Wade's display of pistols and his belief in free speech; a detailed account of at least one fugitive slave capture. These, and many other incidents may be inserted to the end that a genuine human interest is aroused and the students are able to feel the spirit of the times. More than likely the omission of incident and personality has left historical facts and political principles high and dry above human interest in the minds of students. The result is evident — but it will be safer to indicate it by quoting Professor Sellery who said last year: "Our text books are usually compact, hard fibered condensations embracing a multitude of short, dictionary like topics. These books are not appetizing to the young, not easy for them to digest."

It will be observed that this process of trimming out incident and personality, the enlivening material, has not eliminated anything that is difficult. The shortening process has made the texts more difficult, because none of the great political or economic issues, or principles have been omitted. We have left the shortcake without the berries.

It is certainly of prime importance that the student

be interested and pleased with the text-book — interested, because the text catches and holds his attention. A text in ancient history is in the hands of boys and girls of fourteen and fifteen. I have known teachers to give the students the impression at the beginning that they could not understand the text, and could not be interested in it. The bad point about it is that it seems to be true. So, on through the text the teacher makes a belabored effort to have the children understand what they read and to be interested by it. A teacher of training and experience with a genuine history teacher's personality may get apparently good results. The student is being taught, but he is not learning to learn by studying. In too many cases the language is far removed from that easily within the grasp of fourteen year olds. It is just as important to consider the child as it is to consider the academic side of history. Then again, always considering the fourteens, the first year's work should be largely narrative. Subjects should be more fully treated, and fewer subjects should be treated. The committee of five suggests a revising of the subject matter, passing lightly over the early history and concentrating on the essential workings of the Democracy of the time of Pericles, and in Roman history leaving out the traditions, and the struggle between the Plebs and Patricians. This is the beginning of a change from what is called a "content shaped by tradition and filled with constitutional details." Then there will be time for fuller treatment that will enable students to learn history from texts in simple language, enlivened by character sketches and incident. I have in mind two ancient history texts taught by the same teacher. Her opinion was expressed as follows: "The book now in use makes my work twice as easy and the students are interested." The first consideration in ancient history is that the text be interesting; the second that it be learnable, not teachable, but learnable.

In mediaeval and modern history two questions are being discussed. It is rather generally agreed that the greater time and emphasis should be placed on modern history. Many of the texts have not been written with this idea in view. As the teaching has already shown a decided tendency in this direction, texts that will make the teaching more effective will follow.

Two methods of presenting mediaeval and modern history are found in the texts. In his preface, Mr. Bourne says: "The attempt has been made to narrate the history of the more important countries together in chronological order, instead of giving to each a separate treatment, and so obliging the reader to move forward and backward along the chronological series and by an unusual effort of attention, make the necessary correlating events, or fail to get an adequate conception of the progress of Europe as a whole. To narrate the history of Europe in this way may occasionally seem to lack the compactness and clearness of separate treatment." The struggle to produce a text written to omit nothing and yet to keep within the limits of 500 pages has forced many authors to treat topics in a compact, dictionary-like way.

Too frequently, an important phase of national development is inserted in the text as if it stood alone. To the learner it points neither to the future nor to the past. I examined the treatment of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions in several texts. To the learner the topic stands as an air tight compartment, a thing to be learned for its own sake. A few introductory sentences could point out the fact that the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions were a recurrence of the ideas of Jefferson in the cabinet fight with Hamilton, of the opposition to the ratification of the Constitution; of the States party in the convention; of the theory of government as expressed in the Articles of Confederation. In conclusion it could be pointed out that the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions

were used as arguments by New England against the admission of Louisiana, and against the conduct of the War of 1812, by South Carolina against the tariff of 1828, and by Hayne in his speech in 1830 and by the South from 1830 to 1860. Pointing to the past will give a desire to know the topic and pointing to the future will enable the student to learn the significance of the topic. In this way there will be fewer topics more fully treated, as Professor Sellery pointed out last year. Such a presentation of all the larger facts of history will develop the historical method for the learner. But it is said that the teacher can do all of this. That is just what I am objecting to. I am trying to maintain that the student should learn history by studying it.

Texts and Proportions

The tendency of teachers and the reports of committees has been to adjust the proportions in American history. Even the newer texts have shown an extremely conservative spirit on this point. In looking over many of the American histories, most generally used, I find that they give an average of one hundred and twenty-five pages on the colonial period down to 1763. The period of 1783 to 1800, including the critical period, westward expansion, making the Constitution, ratifying the Constitution, and twelve years of Federalist rule, an average of less than fifty pages, while for the later period between the close of the Civil War and the present day, there is an average of sixty pages. I am sure that these proportions should be adjusted. The period from 1783 to 1800 should be given as much space as the period up to 1763, and certainly the period since the Civil War should have as much, or possibly more. The bigness of this later period with its variety of interests is evident in the texts themselves. The thorough-going work of the historian seems to have ended with the story of re-

construction. Most of the texts fail to disclose any relationship of facts in this period, no predominant lines of development, no prevailing tendencies. Sequence is abandoned for the spectacular, and continuity of national growth is lost in variety.

Each of the better texts seems to have one characteristic feature. It may be especially strong on the colonial period, the Constitution, the West, or industrial history. The student, of course, would get a more correct idea of the development of our national life if these great lines of progress, instead of being developed in different texts, were combined in one in proper proportions.

Civics

Why do we teach civics at all? To answer that question we must pay less attention to the subject matter and more to the students themselves. Now, they are adolescents. Later, they will be men and women. If we teach civics and history to train for citizenship, it must be a training that will show results five and ten years later. Then it will be not what they have studied, not how much they have studied, but what they have retained, that becomes a guiding force in their lives. Shall we drill and drill into the students a multitude of forms and facts, most of which will soon be forgotten? Or shall we lead them to comprehend and feel the few great principles of civic processes? Is it a latent, academic citizenship that is desired? Or is it the development of an active civic will, inspired by a few civic ideals grounded deep in our history, that is desired?

Suppose a case where civic action is desired. What will determine whether there is civic apathy or civic action? Is it an academic knowledge of terms and forms? Or is it that the citizen sees that some vital principle is being violated — vital to him, to his community, and to the State. If he is not able to comprehend the drift of

things about him, academic civics will never produce action. If, on the other hand, he is aroused on a great civic problem, he will easily and readily find the constituted channels for political action. The ward boss knows minutely the forms of civil government, because through them he has a purpose to accomplish. All that we can do is to see that he is opposed by men of strong, high civic purposes, and they will master him on his own ground. Whenever a man, a precinct, a town, or a State is thoroughly aroused by great civic ideas and ideals, no lack of civic forms will cause serious delay.

I want to make the point that the interest of the student should be from within — not a transient interest in the day's recitation, nor interest inspired by teachers and tests, but an interest that arises from the student's grasp of situations. Continuity of study and the tracing of movements develops the investigating spirit, the desire to grasp the significance of facts. A real, natural interest in the study of civic forms and duties must come out of the student's experience as developed in the study of history.

The greatest difficulty in the way is the lack of time and space in the text. The question of correlation is almost settled, but we are as far as ever away from carrying into effect the correlated material. The attempt to do this in one volume has failed. The attempt to accomplish the purpose in two volumes, one of civics and one of history must always be far from successful. I will suggest what seems to me a better solution of the problem, namely, a two volume American history with civics correlated throughout.

The two book series will be no more expensive than the two separate works now used, with one text on American history and one on government. There is a loss of space, time, and concentration. This is clear when we compare texts even by the same authors. Consider for

example the subject of local government in Massachusetts and Virginia. Both texts necessarily discuss these topics. All that is told in the American history is repeated in the text on government. In the latter, six pages are given, but there is very little information which is not found in the history. By the plan which I suggest, about two pages of the material of the latter books would be inserted in the former. Thus the student would not only get all the information, but he would get it correlated, and get it all at once, gaining viewpoint, space, time, and concentration. This principle is further illustrated in the chapter on State government. Much of the text on government is only a repetition of the paragraphs of the history on colonial charters, different kinds of colonies, colonial organizations, and a discussion of the revised State government during the Revolution. What reason exists for this separation? Are government and history two such different things that it is wise to put them in separate volumes? Did the people say we have been making history for six months, we will now spend two months on industrial progress, then two months on social and economic growth? Besides, such a correlation will necessarily force the study of government by the historical method and by history teachers, instead of farming it out to mathematics and science teachers.

To summarize, I have suggested the following points:

1. The text must be interesting to the student.
2. The text must be learnable for the student.
3. The language must be written down to the child's understanding.
4. Character sketches should pervade the texts — not left for strained work from the encyclopedias.
5. The whole should be enlivened by incident.
6. Fewer things should be presented with greater fulness.

7. Topics should be more pedagogical, connecting with both past and future, emphasizing the significance of events, and cultivating the habit of seeing that any event is a step on the stairway of progress, to the end that the student who reads in the morning paper the Supreme Court decision in the Standard Oil case will not be moved by the emotions that corporation and trust problems are now settled.

8. That much fuller attention be given to American history since 1870.

9. That a study of the great lines of development of our democracy is far more effective in leading citizenship than detached work on the maintenance of government.

10. That a study of the problems of government, is worth more than a study of the organizations of government.

11. That a better way is to be found in the two volume series of correlated American history and government.

*Equipment for the Teaching of History and Government
in the High School*

Just now teachers of history are concentrating attention to visualize and vitalize the study of history. An examination of the programs of historical societies, history teachers associations, and university conferences will convince anyone that this problem is dominant in the minds of teachers. Educational magazines — especially the *History Teacher's Magazine* — have entered aggressively on a campaign along this particular line. The agitation of this feature of history study is a natural sequence of the problem of the past ten years, the formulation and adoption of a course of study in history. Following the leadership of the reports of the committee of seven and the committee of five, schools have quite

generally adopted courses of history study which are in the main uniform. Now that the history course is established in high schools on a basis parallel with courses in science, English, and mathematics, it is but natural that teachers in high schools, colleges, and universities should take up the newer problems of how to make the text courses in history and government more visualized and vitalized.

The immediate cause of the agitation for the visualization of history teaching was the European invasion,—the exhibit of models, charts, pictures, etc., from France, Germany, England, and Italy at the New York meeting of the American Historical Association, which met at Columbia University last year.

In response to inquiry into the subject of equipment for teaching history in the high schools of Illinois, I recently received reports from twenty-five schools. The first question was in regard to the use of sources in the high school. The following works are mentioned by the different schools: Hart's *Contemporaries*; Robinson's *Readings*; Hart's *Source Book*; Henderson's *Selected Documents*; MacDonald's *Select Charters*; Thatcher and McNeal; Munro and Ellery's *Medieval History*; Cheney's *Readings in English History*; Kendall on English History; *The Federalist*; Lee; Macy; *Iliad*; *Odyssey*, etc. In several cases sets of the *Old South Leaflets* and the *Pennsylvania Translation and Reprints* are used.

In regard to the number of copies of each, the replies indicate that in most schools the number is limited to one or two each. A few schools have from twelve to fifteen copies of one or two books. The same thing is true in regard to pamphlets. From these replies it is evident that the work with the sources in the high schools is limited to the explanatory work by the teacher and to the work of a very few students.

Mr. Jay T. Colegrove of Cedar Rapids, in a report be-

fore the Mississippi Valley Historical Association last May, found that the same condition existed in Iowa. It is evident that equipment for work with the sources is very limited. In answer to the question, do you favor an extensive use of the sources, only four answered yes. Most of the answers indicate that the teachers only desire sources in the high school (1) to give some idea of how history is written, (2) for illustrative purposes and (3) to acquaint students with the atmosphere of different times. The lack of equipment along this line is due evidently to the fact that most teachers do not believe in an extensive use of sources in the high school. The greatest objection is that in all the schools there are not enough duplicate copies to do class work with the sources.

Reference Library

The study of the above mentioned replies shows that all the schools believe in some use of reference works. Two out of twenty-five do not believe in extensive use of reference works in high schools. A few insist upon a thorough mastery of the text, with just enough reference work to add zest and fulness to the work. One replied: "We believe in teaching history by the reference, rather than by the text book method." Another favors the reference method as far as the limit of the student's time will permit, and favors the use of a few works often, rather than the use of many different works. This teacher was impressed by the fact that students have a great deal to do. Still another favored reference work for special reports but not for class work. One school requires twenty pages a week and a digest brought to class. One school believes in an extensive use of the reference library in the upper classes. There is no approach to uniformity in regard to the equipment of a reference library while there is a fair agreement in regard to the desire to use reference works. A school with two hundred and seventy

history students in five different subjects reports a library of eighteen different works, only three or four of which exceed one volume, with no duplicates. Another, with six subjects and with two hundred students reports sixty-two works, with a few duplicates in twos and threes and one of eleven. The tendency in the larger and better schools is toward more duplicates of standard works, rather than a great number of different works.

A few statements from one of the best reports which I received will show what is done by duplicating instead of increasing the number of different works. There were two hundred and ninety-seven students in ancient history. They used *West Ancient World*, 15 copies; Morey's *Ancient History*, 18 copies; Myers's *Ancient History*, 75 copies; Myers's *Greece*, 16 copies; Myers's *Rome*, 16 copies; Barnes's *Ancient History*, 55 copies; Berens's *Mythology*, 10 copies; Oman's *Greece*, 7 copies; Blors's *Ancient History*, 10 copies; Creasy, 18 copies; Smith's *Greece*, 25 copies; Smith's *Rome and Carthage*, 23 copies.

In modern history, one hundred and six students had the use of: Barnes, 37 copies; Emerton, 28 copies; Myers, 15 copies; Munro, 12 copies; Kirkland's *France*, 13 copies; Young, 7 copies; Thatcher and Scoville, 10 copies.

In English history, seventy-five students had access to: Coman and Kendall, 17 copies; Wrong, 14 copies; Farmer, 4 copies; Green, 60 copies; Terry, 3 copies; Kendall, 12 copies; Montagu, 15 copies. With such a supply of duplicates of a few good works, it is possible to secure class work with the references. A few assignments make the work definite, and the supply of books not only gives the student a chance to do the reading, but also justifies the teacher in holding the students responsible for the work. The reference work is concentrated, the class work unified and definite, and the students responsible.

Only a few schools in Illinois have such a workable reference library, probably not a half dozen. Schools have made the mistake of running up a long list of works, but have no usable material for class work. As long as a teacher must assign sixty students to read one or two copies, or as long as thirty students must prepare from twenty-five or thirty different sources, there will be confusion and loss. Teachers can not make the assignments with proper care and certainly can not check up to see if the work has been done.

Mr. Oscar H. Williams, of the School of Education of the University of Indiana, in a paper before this Association last year, said: "Except in a few cases of the best schools the reading equipment is in a deplorable condition. The historical library is ill adapted to the purpose." His second observation is that there is little attempt to secure definite and regular reading by all history students. Few requirements — the fewer the better, in reading — more taking of notes in the reading, and little or no testing out of the reading — this constitutes the supplementary reading in history in a large majority of even the better schools. The chief objection to the situation as it now exists is that the selection has been made from the viewpoint of numbers and variety, rather than with the idea of securing uniform selections usable for class work. A study of the situation in Iowa by Mr. Jay T. Colegrove of the Cedar Rapids High School, read before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, indicates that history equipment for class reference work in Iowa is no better than in Illinois or Indiana.

Teachers of history have settled fairly well what constitutes a good reference library for high school work. The aim should not be variety or great numbers, but rather uniformity in selections in multiple to secure class work. This makes assignments easy and makes it pos-

sible for teachers to hold students responsible for assignments.

Wall Maps

In regard to wall maps, a few schools reported that they had a few good wall maps. From the nature of the replies, it may be inferred that the equipment is fair in this regard. The great danger here is that teachers will assume that high school students know considerable geography. A little experience convinces the teacher that the student's knowledge of geography is vague and uncertain, both as to details and large outlines. It amounts almost to intuition to be able to get into the students' minds and look out upon history lessons with the background found there. There is little danger of over-doing the map question. It is not sufficient to complain that students have not learned geography in the grades. If the history teacher in the high school finds that freshmen do not know the geography of Asia and Europe, it is her business to teach it.

The French have a set of double faced wall maps, twenty in a series, each 30 x 40. One shows the old French provinces, superposed in the outlines of the present departments. Another map illustrates French industries. It shows products manufactured and other industries of various parts of France. Imports and exports are indicated with arrows that point to and from the different parts of France, with the names of the principal countries from which they come or to which they go.

Development maps, or historical geographical charts, are almost a necessity. Such a chart or map of the United States is a great aid. Colonization, the territorial limits of the treaty of 1783, the Louisiana Purchase, the Mexican cessions mean more to a class if for several days that particular page of the chart, with its permanent colors and lettering and proportions, stands

before the students. Such a chart in the development of France, or in the building of the German Empire is a powerful aid.

It will be found that few maps and charts, made especially for the purpose of illustrating the teaching of history, are to be found in the high schools. Whatever the history teacher may have in many cases are borrowed from the teacher of geography and Latin. To have enough of the right kind of maps and charts and have them convenient and available at a moment's notice is required, if such equipment is necessary at all.

Chronological Charts

Only a few of the schools which responded make use of chronological charts. Several replied that they used only such charts as the students made. Others said that they hoped to use them soon. One teacher thought ready-made charts were of little use to the student. The danger, however, is that if the ready-made charts are not at hand, and the teacher must depend on instructing thirty students as to how to make thirty charts and check up the thirty to see that it is done, much time and energy will be lost and the abiding impression gained by a good chart not gained at all. Mr. Coulomb, in the *History Teacher's Magazine*, tells us that the use of the chronological chart seems to be much more popular in Europe. He adds that "there seems to be an emphasis in the chronological method in Europe that is paralleled by the topical method in this country."

The synchronistic chart, exhibited in New York and used in Europe, attracted much attention. It covered the period from the ninth to the nineteenth century and traced the history of England, France, and Germany in parallel columns century by century. Mr. D. C. Knowlton presents a similar chart to illustrate the influence of the Orient in Greece. Twelve years ago I constructed a

synchronistic chart showing in parallel columns the history of the Orient, Greece, and Rome. I believe such a chart is absolutely necessary in order that the students may get a correct notion of historical progress.

Stereographs

In regard to the extent to which stereographs are used, one school replies "somewhat", another "slightly", and others "very little". Excellent stereographs may be had for \$2.00 a dozen. Referring to a set of stereo views of Egypt, Professor Breasted says: "I may add for the benefit of those to whom a journey through the Nile Valley is an impossibility that the system of travel represented in these beautiful stereographs makes possible to every one a voyage up the Nile which falls little short of the actual experience itself." To economize in time it is advisable to have a half dozen or more stereoscopes, and in an hour a class in ancient history may easily see some of the things which a text book can only mention. The three dimensions will hold the attention of the class and add an element not supplied by pictures and lantern slides. The stereoscope serves another purpose: it converts the class and the teacher into a kind of round-table, where texts and credits are forgotten and all study history because of its attractiveness.

Lantern Slides

The use of lantern slides to illustrate the text is rapidly increasing. The replies were as follows: "limited but increasing", "a few", "in American history only", "post cards frequently", "much", "to a limited extent", "we have about seventy-five slides", "just now putting in a combination lantern for pictures and slides", "five or six illustrated lectures each term", "just beginning to use them", "we use about one hundred slides", and twelve schools replied that they were "not using lantern slides at all".

It will be observed that the stereopticon and the projectiscope have made a small beginning in history teaching in Illinois high schools. The replies indicate an increase in their use and a desire to use them fully. As slides may be bought, or rented, tabulated by subjects or countries, they are easily within the reach of all.

Photographs and Pictures

Here and there an enthusiastic teacher has always used pictures to illustrate the text. This practice is becoming more general and there is now a well defined belief that considerable work along this line is essential.

One school uses stereoscope views for Roman history. Several reply that they use all they can get hold of. One uses Perry pictures. One posts pictures on bulletin boards. One reply states that pictures are used in some classes but not in all. Another uses pictures constantly. One has a large collection made by pupils and teacher. Other replies are "to a considerable extent", "we use about 200", "using more all the time", "slightly", "used at times", "have a great many and use them in every class", "to some extent", and seven replied "not at all".

It is no longer difficult to get good pictures. Anderson, of Rome, Italy, represents a large number of Italian publishers of photographs of subjects illustrating history. Then there is the Detroit Photographic Company and the Photochrom Co. of London which put out prints made by a process of color photography. The Chicago Art Education Co. deals in carbon and color prints, and the W. H. Pierce Co. of Boston makes a specialty of bromide enlargements. A select list of photogravures of famous buildings may be secured from the Prang Educational Company of New York. The Earl Thompson Co. of Syracuse, New York, publishes a series of blue prints illustrating history, architecture, art, manufactures and commerce at one cent each.

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Longmans Green and Co. have a series of wall pictures in colors illustrating English history. They are 24 x 18 mounted on cards 30 x 25, and twelve of them may be had for \$10.50. They include:

- (1) Repairing a Roman wall
- (2) Augustine preaching before King Ethelbert
- (3) A Danish raid resisted by the Saxon villagers
- (4) Harold's last stand at Senlac
- (5) Richard in sight of Jerusalem
- (6) King John sealing Magna Charta
- (7) Henry V at Agincourt
- (8) Spanish Armada attacked by the English
- (9) Charles the First in House of Commons to arrest the five members
- (10) The death of Wolfe at Quebec
- (11) The Battle at Trafalgar
- (12) Adrendanaught and Nelson's Victory in harbor

One of the most reliable dealers in lantern slides, pictures, and enlargements is Professor J. T. Lees, of the Department of Greek at the University of Nebraska. These are made from negatives taken on expeditions, and eight hundred and ninety-seven views are explained in a descriptive catalogue.

Plaster Casts

In regard to the use of plaster casts, one school says, "We use them very much in ancient history"; others say "very limited", "somewhat", "to a limited extent", "in ancient history", "a very few", "only those which we have for decorative purposes". Twenty schools reply that no use is made of casts and that they have none. In a good workable history room a few casts would add tone and be instructive.

Scale Models

The replies indicate that this is practically a new field. One school replies, "such as the students make",

others, "Latin department is well supplied", "a few made by pupils", "some are used by Latin classes", "we have only a few".

The only conclusion is that on this point we are doing nothing in our high schools. A little has been done in some of the large cities of the East. What is being done in European schools, especially in Germany and France, with objects and models was shown in the exhibition in New York City during the last meeting of the American Historical Association.

Another series exhibited were those of Ransch — models for illustrating the culture history of Germany. There are about two hundred models in the collection. Among them are: a working model of Gutenberg's printing press, oil lamps in pottery, cross bow, two handed sword, knight's helmet, Order of the Golden Fleece, jousting lance, models of Romanesque and Gothic windows, coats of arms, etc. Besides these, samples of linen, cotton and silk, in their various stages of manufacture were shown. There were cotton exhibits from the Spool Cotton Co., linen exhibits from Barbour Bros., and a similar silk exhibit is available from Brainard and Armstrong.

Such lists of models give some idea of what may be done along this line. The equipment is made less expensive than the equipment for physics and chemistry and is much more lasting.

Adaptation of Room

History teachers in many quarters are now insisting that they have rooms that are adapted to the use of illustrative material. This means a well lighted room, a large room with student seats in the center and ample wall space on four sides for charts, maps, pictures, filing cases, stereopticon, cases or shelves for models, and room for casts and exhibits of material to illustrate industrial

history and economics. In answer to questions with regard to the adaptation of rooms, the replies are as follows: "yes, more and more"; "yes, in the new building"; "not fully"; two say "fairly so"; and eighteen reply "no".

In answer to the question, *is it worth while*, the schools reply: "If sufficient time is allowed"; "I do not think it worth while to invest a very great sum aside from charts and library"; "It would be if teachers and students had time, but no good can come of ignoring the fact that the high school course is over-crowded and the teachers over-loaded. The limit for work of this kind is a time and strength limit. History could very easily be expanded but to cover the ground with all the illustrative material and source books desirable in themselves would require all the pupils' time. If all studies expand in the same way, the method falls by its own weight. We need to remember the words of the wise Athenian, 'Nothing in excess' ". Another says, "This method can be carried too far, for the students have to keep quite close to book work". Another replies, "Yes, if we could have time"; another, "Yes, if we could have the room"; another "To some extent, but not to overdo it. Books are the greatest laboratory"; and still another, "Rather costly, but worth making a start on perhaps"; and twelve answer simply "yes".

These replies indicate that in most cases no provision has been made for a usable history room. In most cases the teachers and principals declare emphatically for such a room. Two objections demand consideration. First, there is the objection to cost. There is little to be said here except that the cost in any case would not exceed that of a physics laboratory and the results would be reaped by *many more students*. It is not worth while to raise the question of its value here among teachers of history. In our high school we have a room well adapt-

ed to the teaching of chemistry with an equipment that has cost over \$1,000. This room is used only of afternoons, and then by only eighteen or twenty students. No objection has ever been raised to the cost, yet the cost of equipment for the two hundred and sixty history students in rooms used every period probably does not exceed \$100.

Secondly, it is claimed that the courses are already over-crowded. It is intimated that the various means of illustrating and visualizing history would require more time and energy on the part of students and teachers. A teacher in a properly equipped room may save both energy and time. On one hand will be the best maps and charts, conveniently arranged. In another place, the stereopticon with labeled, alphabetically filed slides and pictures; nearby a stereoscope with alphabetically filed stereographs. Right at hand will be files of pictures. There will be sets of a few of the sources, in multiple ready for class assignment and class work. The reference library will be there — just a few well chosen works in multiple; convenient and usable because of ease of assignment. On one side may be the little museum with its models ready for instant use. About the room will be the wall pictures historically accurate and many in colors, with here and there casts that have a meaning. Such a room in itself would lend an historical atmosphere not otherwise to be obtained, and a state of readiness which would enable the teacher to illuminate and illustrate the pages of the text with little loss of time and energy and the teaching would be animated, interesting, and understandable.

Time and energy would be saved to the student because the teacher would *show objects*, instead of talking about them. They will not lose time in hunting up obscure references, and in searching for illustrations which after all may not be found. The abstract and obtuse

passages of the text, amply illustrated, are visualized, and comprehension quickly supplants the vague and meaningless, formal, rote learning of paragraphs. This illustrative material may be made to save time in the preparation of the next day's lesson, a task often far too difficult for the liveliest imagination of children. Students will carry an enthusiasm into the preparation, studying from a momentum of real interest, and not as is now too often the case studying because it is assigned, and in order to earn a credit towards graduation.

If we can go back a few years to the time when physics and chemistry and biology were taught as text book studies, pure and simple, and then think of the wonderful transformation which the laboratory has wrought, we will see that elaborate and costly equipment has not required more time and energy on the part of science students. The expansion of the sciences has not taxed greater the time and energy of students or teachers, if by teachers we mean something more than pedagogical clerks. It must be the same with the expansion of the laboratory method of teaching history.

The Board of Education and the Supplies

The last question was "Does your board of education furnish supplies for history teaching as readily and extensively as for the teaching of science? Why?" The replies are "No. No very good reason." "No. Board doesn't seem to agree with us that history is as important as science." Another says "Yes. No good reason." (But the reason is that the superintendent of that school is a history crank himself). "No. It costs too much. They think it unnecessary." "No, because they feel that the history teaching of to-day is largely of a political character, that the returns on money invested in equipment in science, manual training, etc., are greater." "Yes, they are more liberal now than in the past. A lab-

oratory for history study is just as essential as for the efficient teaching of physics. Such equipment is now absolutely essential." "No, certainly not, probably because it is helpful but not *indispensable* as in science." "No, certainly not, probably because the members do not so clearly see the need of it." "No, because teacher and textbook are all that is necessary to teach history. We have seven hundred and fifty students in our high school. Of these four hundred and seventy-six take history with no equipment. Ten take chemistry, 55 physics, 150 biology, with an equipment costing thousands of dollars." "No they have not been called on to do so." "No, because there is a lack of money for everything." "Some citizens have helped." "No. The board does not feel the necessity for such supplies." "No. Possibly because the teachers have not asked for much." "Science and history fare much alike." "The board has supplied equipment, when it has been asked for. The needs have not been presented in a convincing manner when the board has not supplied it, I think." "Yes — but we have no room."

These replies indicate clearly that as teachers of history we have not aroused public sentiment to the point where such equipment is felt to be necessary.

Summary

Out of sixty inquiries, twenty-three replies were received. These replies came from the better and larger schools. They indicate clearly that in these better and larger schools little attention is paid to anything like a systematic use of organized equipment. It is no doubt true that the condition grows worse among the smaller high schools. One reason, no doubt, is that there has been no attempt to agree upon what should be considered ample equipment for any one of the social sciences. It may be that some system of accrediting courses, demand-

ing certain equipment as in chemistry and physics, and certain reading as in the college entrance requirements in English would in some measure solve the problem.

Such a system would require source material and reference books in multiple for class study. Then aside from illustrative material, some attempt would be made to impress on all the importance of a room adapted to the purpose. Some of the requirements, more or less uniform even if imposed from above, would be preferred to the present condition, where equipment and illustrative material is to be found in due proportions only because of the aggressiveness of an individual here and there.

Evidently it is not the fault of the school boards or of the community. The sentiment of the board and of the people in all such matters is established by the teachers, principals, and superintendents. The want of necessary equipment is itself an extravagance, for when hundreds of thousands of dollars have been spent for buildings, grounds, and teachers, it is bad business to withhold a few hundred dollars for the equipment that would make the investment yield far greater returns.

The committee of the social science section of the University of Illinois recommend that a special history library room be equipped in each high school. As an ideal such a recommendation is excellent; as a workable proposition it is idle speculation, owing to conditions that exist, for most high schools have no library room at all. It is more reasonable to urge that history rooms be equipped in some such way as has been provided for chemistry, physics, and zoology.

DISCUSSION

BY JOSEPHINE M. COX

In what I shall say concerning the need for history equipment, I do not want to be understood as underestimating in any way the importance of the teacher. I believe the teacher is the main factor in education: given a strong, sympathetic, enthusiastic teacher, one that understands people, and there will be good instruction, equipment or no equipment. On the other hand, if the teacher is of the lazy, flabby sort, the instruction will not rise above the dead level of ignorance and indifference, although there is the best equipment imaginable. While I believe this, I am quite sure that the capable teacher can deepen and make more valuable his instruction — can benefit more pupils — with suitable equipment than without it; and that in spite of a characterless instructor, good equipment will furnish the opportunity to young people for real advancement.

The text should be a book for *study* and not for *entertainment*. It should be readable, that is, intelligible and interesting. Some books which I have used contain sentences as difficult for high school boys and girls to interpret as if they were written in Greek. I am heretic enough to believe that we shall never have the ideal text for the secondary schools until we have a book written by one with the scholarship and wisdom of the university professor, and with the experience and understanding of the high school instructor — a difficult but not an impossible combination.

There should be maps, charts, globe, and pictures, since the place element makes more accurate and helps

to fix instruction. To locate geographically an event, not only renders more definite the fact itself, but quite frequently explains it. I deplore the tendency to underestimate the value of geography — too much of our present day instruction is vague and general. A picture gives a clear and vivid understanding of certain subjects. The picture of a mediaeval cathedral, showing both the exterior and interior views, is preferable to a world of words in description. Pictures should be selected, not only with reference to their historical value, but also for their artistic and refining influences.

Equipment necessary to every high school is a history room, which combines a study hall, library, and a laboratory, all in one. I like the word laboratory, for it places history where it should belong — a two hour subject, with one hour for recitation and one for original investigation and study. As a study hall, it will appeal to the principal and the management. If it is definitely understood that the history room will look after the history pupils during their vacant hours, there will be little trouble in securing the *room*. Just an ordinary classroom will do, if more commodious quarters can not be secured. Into this room bring all the history books, encyclopedias, dictionaries, maps, globes, pictures, and relics that are available. Here let the pupil spend at least one hour daily. Direct his work, yet give him the opportunity for self-advancement. Such a place is a god-send to the lover of history. This room solves the problem of the bright student. Too frequently we teachers, necessarily perhaps, give our time and strength to the weak, the lazy, the indifferent, since the bright boy, if neglected, does better work than the weak or lazy one with all our prodding.

In this room the *poor* child with no home library can partly satisfy his longing for more knowledge. Year by year books should be added until the school has a library

that is worth while — text-books, preferably the readable sort, especially for those just beginning history; myths; stories; biographies; books on manners and customs; and source-books also, for pupils should gain the knowledge of the beginnings of historical data. Work in this room is tested through oral recitations, written reports both in outline and composition form, maps of various kinds, and note-books.

The class work means so much more with the wider knowledge and the added interest gained through the study hour. In the history room the conditions are at their best for study. Here the pupil is surrounded by his history gods, as it were. The very atmosphere is historical, and soon the pupil naturally falls into the correct attitude for good work. If he is slow to learn how to hunt up material, the one in charge of the room gives a suggestion or actually helps him to gain his bearings — helps him until he can help himself — the object being to enable every one to be self-reliant and studious. I am not speaking of a theory, or of ideal conditions, but of the practical workings, of our history reference room at Shortridge High School in Indianapolis. We now have a room in which we *can* make place for ninety pupils, but it seats easily each hour seventy, thus making it possible for us to relieve the regular study hall of about five hundred pupils daily — a fact that appeals wonderfully to our principal. In charge of this room is a young woman — one of our own graduates — who has a pleasing personality, a love for books, a liking and an understanding of young people, a keen sense of humor, with a quick and ready wisdom in controlling a situation. Such a room is an easy possibility wherever there is pluck, push, and diplomacy. Ours cost less than a hundred dollars to install. The main expense is to get the books. In the beginning if necessary be satisfied with what can be secured from the school library, the city library, and by

donations on the part of teachers and friends of the school. Let it be known that you want all history books that can be spared by the citizens. You will receive more books, and many of them more valuable than you ever dreamed of. Add to this supply yearly in number and value as the helpfulness of the room grows upon the school management. Such a room is a center of ever increasing interest. It is the home of the history department about which clings the love and loyalty of teachers and pupils alike. Here it is possible to bring about unity and harmony of purpose without destroying individual initiative and originality. It is something concrete and visible to point to. It sets a standard for high endeavor and practical achievement. It appeals to the studious, the idealistic, and the theoretical, as well as to the sturdy, active, restless, wide-awake utilitarian. Perhaps I have said enough upon this subject. Had I not believed in our history room most thoroughly, I should never have dared to accept a place upon this program. I am sorry that Mr. A. W. Dunn, who originated and installed the room for us, is not here to awaken in your minds the necessity for such equipment and the determination to supply your high schools with a history room. If you have any doubt as to the efficiency and value of such equipment, come to Shortridge and see for yourselves.

WHAT SHOULD A HIGH SCHOOL COURSE IN CIVIL GOVERNMENT COMPRISE

BY WILLIAM O. LYNCH

In considering this topic it is not my purpose to present a syllabus for a course in government, but to discuss in a more general way the subject-matter for such a course. What the course should include and the spirit in which it should be taught can be determined only by arriving at the real purpose for placing the subject of civics in the high school curriculum.

It will generally be held that the purpose is to fit the student for citizenship. This should mean more than giving him an understanding of existing institutions and of the actual practice of government at the present time. No person is a good citizen who does not study critically organs of government and political methods. We need citizens who not only vote and actively participate in public affairs, but who are intelligently progressive. We have too many people, both men and women, who, because they themselves are able to live in great comfort or to enjoy wealth, have little or no appreciation of the serious problems that confront the community and the nation. The teacher of civil government should give the students a broad outlook, should encourage them to study political, social, and economic conditions, should give them such a vision of life that they can never afterward entirely forget their responsibility for the welfare of the masses. The subject presents a fine chance for training in independent thinking, and likewise for training in the power to discriminate between fact and fiction in the matter furnished by newspapers and magazines.

No higher aim can be kept in mind than that of instilling the habit of independent and continued study of problems affecting the welfare of society.

A course in civics is not to be determined with reference to the preparation of the student for college, and in no sense should traditions as to what ought to be the subject-matter of such a course have weight. It makes no particular difference to the college professor in political science whether those who enter his classes have had a high school course in government and politics or not. The vital relation of the higher institutions to high school work in this field is that these institutions must train the teachers.

The teaching of civics has undergone a revolution in recent years both in matter and method. There is reason to believe that we have at last arrived somewhere, and have finally evolved a course that is worth while and that is very generally adhered to. As a boy I was privileged to receive instruction in civil government both in the eighth year and in the high school. In each case the text-book was a running commentary on the provisions of the Federal Constitution. In both courses we were required to commit the preamble to the great document, but no other clause. The study took up all the details of the government under the Constitution. We learned that the electoral college was not working as the fathers intended, and that this was well; that the spoils system was a great disease of the body-politic, but that it was being cured by civil service reformers; we debated the question whether it would not be better for the president to be elected for six years and be ineligible for a second term; and, finally, there was doubt expressed as to the wisdom of Senators being elected by State legislatures. I think we also considered the evil of vote-buying and came to the conclusion that the vote-seller and the vote-purchaser were equally bad. In all other particulars our

system of government was perfect. Our forefathers in their wisdom had produced an almost faultless work, and the machinery set up by them would run smoothly forever. Because of their foresight, patriotism, and statesmanship our country was "the land of the free and the home of the brave" and such it would always remain.

From courses such as those just described to present courses is a far cry, yet some of the old tendencies are yet too prevalent. The subject is one in connection with every phase of which may be presented a great array of detached facts. For example, what a multitude of figures may be dwelt on in the matter of salaries of officials from road supervisor to president. In what order would members of the cabinet succeed to the presidency in case of the death or resignation of both president and vice-president? This was one question in a teachers' examination list in Indiana recently. What value is there in knowing the salary of our minister to Mexico? It is worth while to know that Congress has provided for the succession of cabinet members to the presidency under certain circumstances, but there is no reason under the sun why all the people of the country, or even teachers of civics, should carry the exact order of succession in mind. The jurisdiction of the several grades of Federal courts calls for the mastery of a multitude of tedious congressional provisions, which no one is likely to remember. Professor Beard in his *American Government and Politics* says an eminently sensible thing regarding the jurisdiction of the Federal District Courts: "The jurisdiction of a District Court can be understood only by a review of a large number of statutes, and it is so technical in character that it need be studied only by a practicing lawyer whose business it is to discover the proper forum into which his client's case may be taken". A similar disposition might be made of quite a number of matters that seem to require the mastery of a host of burdensome facts.

Another defect carried over from an earlier period is that of praising unduly many features of American government. While more and more teachers of civics lead their classes to view our institutions critically, there are yet many who feel that the way to produce patriots is to create a deep reverence for all things American, both past and present. The argument is made that high school students should not be made acquainted with the defects of our government, with the graft and greed prevalent in politics and business, and with the unholy influences at work in American legislative bodies. It is claimed that young people who assimilate such material will lose their affection for flag and country, and even their faith in America's public men. Those who hold this view believe that the good in our political life should be emphasized and the bad ignored, though they admit that a short experience in real life will be enough to reveal much of the evil that exists.

I am ready to agree that no teacher should over-emphasize the dark side of our public life, and that the spirit of civics work should be one of healthy optimism. At the same time I am convinced that useful, effective citizens can be produced in no way except by facing the actual situation. The only safe, honest, and patriotic method is to give praise where praise is due, raise doubts where doubts exist, and condemn what demands condemnation. The student should realize that whatever great things the American people have done to foster democracy, and through democracy to promote human welfare, there remains yet a vast deal to be accomplished, and much that should be done without unnecessary delay.

All are agreed that a course in civil government should comprise a study of national, State, and local government, and of parties and party machinery. In addition a great variety of matter from the fields of economics and sociology may be presented. A high school course

should be flexible at this point, but when there is opportunity it is well worth while to consider a number of social and economic questions. They should not be taken up in a technical manner, but should be dealt with simply as problems connected with human welfare. Perhaps all such topics may be brought in under the heading of needed or proposed reforms through legislation, and no violence be done to the organizing principle of the subject, if it has one.

In the excellent syllabus recently prepared by a committee of the New England History Teachers Association, great stress is laid on the study of local government. It is argued that the order of topics must be first local government, then State, and then Federal, followed by a brief survey of party politics. It is well to devote a considerable amount of time to local institutions, because it is possible to deal with the machinery of government in actual operation, and to obtain first-hand information. I do not think, however, that it is under all circumstances necessary to begin with local government, and I am sure that it is possible to over-emphasize this phase of the subject. There is an excellent article in the *History Teacher's Magazine* for November, 1910, by Miss Childs, entitled *One Way to Teach Civics*, which shows how the subject may be successfully taught when the national government is taken up first. My belief is that high school seniors will understand and become interested in the workings of the central government about as readily as in the processes of the home system. It is valuable to know the actual structure and method of operation of the government of the township, county, or city, but not nearly so valuable as to compare and contrast the system in use at home with the systems of other States and sections. Suppose the local unit is the city. What form of government exists? Is it as good as that of Des Moines, Iowa? What is the method of cleaning the streets? What are the

methods of other cities, and is the local method superior? Do other cities have better government at a lower *per capita* cost? Is the home city boss-ridden, or controlled by a bi-partisan machine? Who is most interested in maintaining government by partisan bosses though such government is inefficient, corrupt, and extravagant? Many other questions might be raised, but I have suggested enough to bring out my point, namely, that the study of local government consists in something more than becoming acquainted with the operation of the existing system. If there are as many defects in the local government as may be discovered in the average township, county, or city, the country over, the teacher has a more important duty to ferret these out, by contrasting the home community with others having better systems of taxation, better police protection, greater control by the people, etc. Where this is done the class is taken as far afield and the problems become as difficult as those connected with the Federal government.

The New England committee asserts, and correctly, that most text-books in civics give undue attention to the national government. "Such books," says the committee, "give to the young citizen a false perspective of the field of government, and a distorted view of his relation to it. A moment's consideration will show that the pupil comes into direct contact with his local government scores of times oftener than with his Federal government. His home is protected from thieves and fire by local government; the water and often the light is furnished; the electrical wiring and plumbing is inspected; garbage is carted away; the street before the house is repaired, cleaned, and sprinkled; his school buildings are built and cared for, his teachers hired and his books furnished by local government. His father's taxes are assessed and collected; his birth registered, and his burial permit signed by local officers. . . . Through the courts, and

through elections, the pupil may now and then become aware of his state government; while the postman and the currency represent the chief visible points at which the federal government touches his life."

A strong case is here presented in favor of extending greatly the time devoted to local government, but the argument is overdrawn. The last sentence quoted does not by any means fairly present the claims of the State and national government. Local governments are for the most part under the control of State legislatures; local officials spend much time in enforcing laws made by the State legislature, many of which enter minutely into everyday life; the Federal government receives and expends annually extensive sums of money that come by indirect taxation from the pockets of citizens as surely as local revenues come by direct taxation; the Federal government is attempting to regulate interstate commerce and gigantic combinations, and will some time do so or own them, and surely freight rates and prices of commodities furnished by the packing houses and the Standard Oil Company have a vital relation to all of us. Furthermore, the Federal government fosters certain industries by protective duties and bounties, and the family of the civics student helps to pay the bill. Finally, the problems pertaining to labor, and a hundred others that might be mentioned, must be solved mainly by the action of Congress and State legislatures instead of by local governments.

In my judgment, the New England committee keeps in mind too much the youthfulness of the members of civics classes, and reflects too little on the fact that they are to become men and women. The greater number of high school students who study civil government will almost immediately leave school never to return. They will not play much part in public affairs at once, but will wield their greatest influence from ten to forty years

later. It is imperative that the facts pertaining to government and politics be dealt with in such a manner as to interest the students in the vital problems of government with which the people must grapple and which they must attempt to solve during the first half of this twentieth century. To send the student forth with an attitude of mind that will cause him to think, and read, and investigate questions new and old for the rest of his life should be the highest aim of the teacher of civics. If he does not continue to be interested in problems of honest and efficient government, and in the modification of our socio-economic order so as to secure a more just distribution to the members of society of the benefits and burdens of government and industry, then the facts which he learns are his only gain, and most of these will pass from his mind long before he is old enough to participate actively in political affairs.

The study of government and politics, national, State, and local should include in addition to the mastery of important facts, made as real as possible through the use of concrete material, and current newspaper and magazine items and articles, a long series of questions. Every vital question concerning any phase of government and politics that has been raised and debated should be considered. It is unfair to students not to bring them into touch with the demands and controversies of the times. They have a right to know that the framers of the Constitution did not believe in democracy. They should debate the following points and a multitude of others: Is the Federal Constitution any longer adequate to the needs of the country? Is a governmental system in which there is a division into three distinct departments as efficient as a government by a responsible ministry? Should our Supreme Court possess the right to declare laws of Congress unconstitutional and therefore void? Should Senators be elected by direct vote of the

people? Should State executives be given the right to appoint and remove other executive officials as the president appoints and removes members of his cabinet? Should city government be divorced from parties? Are the initiative, referendum, and recall desirable in all parts of the country? Should the recall be applied to judges? These and many similar questions are not beyond the capacity of the high school student. The student should not be encouraged to make up his mind at once on either side of any mooted question. Instead, it is the business of the teacher to cause him to weigh the matter judiciously. Some questions need only be raised and not even be discussed. There is no harm in occasionally lodging a question in the mind of an immature student, which there is no intention of considering or debating.

As I have already indicated, much should be done with current matter in the daily press and magazines. There is no subject taught in our high schools that offers so good an opportunity for training in good habits in the reading of newspapers and periodicals as the subject of civil government. The student should not be lead to think too highly of some single publication, daily, weekly, or monthly, no matter how excellent. This is too often the case. The danger here is that no independent thinking need be done. The views of the favored publication are swallowed entire. One needs only to talk with many persons for a short time in order to discover what paper or magazine they read. The student should know that many newspapers are owned or subsidized by special interests; that facts are distorted, or suppressed; that when given correctly they are interpreted by the reporter or editor, and this may be done consciously or unconsciously, dishonestly or honestly. Fact should be separated from fiction when possible, and the views of the writer recognized as such. There is some chance to read even a

"yellow journal", or the more venal subsidized sheet, get at the truth, and draw independent conclusions. Training like this will surely bear good fruit. Persons of even a meagre school experience will read, and much more so those who have had the advantage of a high school training, and they are all too apt to accept opinions ready-made. What better service can the civics teacher do than forewarn and forearm the student and help him to become a thoughtful and discriminating reader, one who seeks the truth that it may make him free, not only in the accepted sense, but also from the domination of the minds behind his daily paper and his magazines.

Much of this sort of discipline can be acquired through the investigation of such economic and social problems as the teacher may select for study. Of course there is also opportunity for reading of this kind in connection with every phase of the subject of civics. Not a day passes that the newspapers do not furnish some good illustrative material, while both current and past numbers of weekly and monthly periodicals abound in articles of value. It is impossible to state definitely what economic and social questions should be taken up. The choice should be made with reference to the personnel of the class, the library facilities, and possibly the interests of the teacher. No doubt most classes should study taxation, the problem of monopoly, government ownership of public utilities, some questions pertaining to the distribution of wealth, some phases of the labor problem, and foreign immigration. In addition, such topics as the congestion of population in the poorer districts of the cities, that is the housing problem, social settlement work, old age pensions, insurance against unemployment, the cost of living, conservation of natural resources, and a host of other matters may be dealt with by the entire class or assigned to individual students for special reports. To

give one example, what a fine exercise it would be for any student to study the series of three articles by Henry Oyen, appearing in recent numbers of the *World's Work* and entitled *Down to the Slum and Out*. It matters not if the student lives in a prairie town in a western State and knows absolutely nothing of the slum from experience or observation, he would still derive value from this study and he ought to make it. A healthy organ of the human body is endangered by disease in another organ, and likewise one class of society or one community can not ignore disease in another social class or community.

In conclusion, may it not be said that no high school study can be made more profitable to students than civil government; that it is a subject rich in content, and replete with problems; that grappling with these problems gives fine discipline to the mental faculties, and at the same time prepares for future results of immense practical value to the State and to the student; and that to teach the subject is an inspiring work to the instructor who comprehends its possibilities.

PREPARATION FOR THE HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER OF HISTORY

BY NORMAN M. TRENHOLME

The following brief paper aims to set forth and explain a system of preparation for high school history teaching which has been in operation in connection with the School of Education of the University of Missouri for some years. What the writer has to say, therefore, is practical rather than theoretical and is based on close observation of teachers in process of training.

The origin of a practical system of professional training came about through the conviction that the university graduates who took up history teaching in the State were either deficient in regard to training in methods or deficient in a scholarly knowledge of history or in both. Few if any were adequately prepared to teach history satisfactorily from the beginning. In consequence of this state of affairs the History Department and the Department of Education arranged the following system of special preparation for intending high school teachers of history and have been carrying it out successfully for a number of years. The existence of a practice high school, the University High School, where observation work, experimentation, and practice teaching can be carried on is of great help, though such a school would not be absolutely essential if observation and practice teaching could be arranged for in a public high school.

The desideratum of the intending teacher is the life certificate to teach in the schools of Missouri and in order

to receive this the candidate must fulfill the following conditions:

1. He must complete the requirements for the B. S. degree in Education. This means that he must have successfully completed two full years of the Academic course and then, after being admitted to the School of Education, must have completed a major course (24 hours) in Education and a minor course (12 hours), approved by the Dean of the school, in subjects related to Education. In addition to the foregoing he must have an equal amount of elective credits in courses approved by the Dean.

2. He must, if history is his subject of specialization, have completed with credit fifteen hours at least of history and three hours of American government, and, in addition, a course in the teaching of history.

3. He must demonstrate his ability to teach history successfully, if that is his specialty, by practice teaching in the High School maintained for this purpose, excepting that a student who furnishes satisfactory evidence of successful experience as a teacher of history may have such experience accepted in partial or total fulfillment of this requirement.

It is to the third division of the requirements for our specialist life certificate that I especially wish to direct your attention, namely, the attempt to give preparatory professional training to those students who are deficient in successful teaching experience. During the second half of their junior year students who are specializing in history and are intending to become candidates for the life certificate in history in the School of Education are asked to report to the Dean of the School of Education and to the Professor of the Teaching of History in order to plan and prepare for their practice teaching. The nature of their preparation in the subject matter having been considered they are tentatively assigned to certain fields and are directed to undertake a series of observations in the

classes conducted by the practice teachers in the University High School. To make this observation work as practical as possible each observer is furnished with a typewritten list of directions for observation work as follows:

I. Recitation on the previous lesson:

(1) How was the previous lesson treated? Was the reviewing mainly done by the teacher or did the students contribute their share?

(2) What points in the previous lesson were particularly emphasized? How was the relation and significance of events handled? Criticise favorably and unfavorably this part of the exercises.

(3) About how much of the period was given up to this recitation?

II. Study of the New Lesson:

(1) What relation did the new lesson have to the previous recitation? If there was no apparent relation how was the new lesson introduced?

(2) Give the types of questions asked by the teacher, noting especially those that called for thought rather than for mere facts? What proportion of the questions were "direct questions"? Did the students seem to understand and follow the teacher's questions — give examples.

(3) Compare the relative amount of talking and explaining done by the teacher and the students? Were the duller students neglected by the teacher? What methods, if any, were used in the case of diffident, dull, or unprepared members of the class?

(4) How was attention or interest shown by the class (voluntary discussion, questions, objections, etc.)? In case of the lack of either attention or interest, or both, what seemed to you to be the cause or causes?

(5) What was the leading problem discussed in the new lesson? What were the main points made in developing this problem? Criticise the discussion from the view-

point of application of topic to present conditions. (This last question not to apply rigidly in connection with ancient history).

(6) How was the summary, if any, made at the close of the study of the new lesson? Did it seem to you to touch on the vital points in the lesson?

(7) Was the time well distributed so that the lesson was well rounded?

III. Assignment of next day's work:

(1) What was the nature of the assignment — (a) for the recitation on the previous lesson; (b) for the study of the new lesson.

(2) What special form or forms did these assignments take — (a) problems, (b) topics, (c) detailed questions, (d) pages? Was collateral reading assigned and if so in what books and how much?

(3) How much time was given to the assignment of the next day's work?

IV. Management:

(1) Was the class room neat, orderly, and well ventilated?

(2) What maps, charts, pictures, etc., did you notice?

(3) Was the behavior of the class good, and if not, what criticisms seem to you just and what causes do you assign for the poor discipline?

(4) What attention, if any, was paid by the teacher to mistakes in English (grammar, pronunciation, and orthography) on the part of the students? Did the teacher commit any such mistakes? (Be specific).

(5) What impression did you get of the general management of the class room as regards proportion of time given to the different parts of the exercise?

Having made a series of observations on the conduct of the recitation, and having submitted written reports, the prospective teacher is next trained in the organization of the coming year's work. This is done by having

the student plot out the work of the year on the basis of the material in the text-book and according to time, importance, and meaning. The time element is, of course, one that has to be given attention, but the relative importance of various sections and topics in the book should also be regarded, and the whole should be so organized that the course will consist of a series of closely related problems working towards one general end. Some training is also given in the use of maps and source and collateral reading. This is all made as practical and concrete as possible and is generally introduced in connection with the observation work.

The students who have had this observation work and preliminary training are now somewhat prepared by the fall to take up practice teaching in history in the University High School. They teach five hours a week through the year under close supervision, criticism, and observation and have to maintain a high standard of efficiency in order to get credit for the work. This practice teaching under thorough supervision is undoubtedly the strongest feature of our system of preparing teachers and yields results of a most practical and beneficial character. During the seven years in which the system has been in operation we have not had a single teacher who has had this work who has failed in professional work outside. The teachers in the University High School develop a positive interest and enthusiasm for their work, acquire habits of resourcefulness and forcible presentation, and go out with a good aggressive professional spirit. At the close of their senior year we are really proud to certificate them as history specialists for the average high school such as we find in most of the small towns of the State and we do not object to having them compared in point of teaching efficiency with graduates of other institutions.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
FOR THE YEAR
1910-1911